INDOLOGICAL STUDIES

7616

Editors : S.K. MAITY & UPENDRA THAKUR

The Book

A galaxy of renowned scholars and orientologists from India and abroad have contributed twenty-seven learned papers for this volume as a token of the high esteem in which they held the great Indologist and savant, Professor D. C. Sircar. These papers traverse a large variety of subjects in the different sub-fields of Indology.

While the essay by A. L. Basham enhances our understanding of Asoka, Romila Thapar's paper is a useful addition to our knowledge of the Mauryan period. J. D. M. Derrett's piece on a quotation from the Dhammapada gives an interesting analysis. John C. Huntington's study of a section of an early portable shrine from Gandhara is fascinating.

The evidence produced by H. D. Sankalia after his recent excavation at Pune has pushed back Indian Civilization to the Old Stone Age. R. C. Gaur's paper gives a scintillating account of Mathura-Govardhana region in its historical perspective. Arabinda Ghosh gives a bird's eyeview of the architectural and artistic heritage of India. S. K. Maity who had life-long association with his teacher has painstakingly compiled an exhaustive bibliography of Professor D. C. Sircar's published books, research papers and articles on epigraphy and palaeography.

Some of the other important themes covered are 'Sanskrit Epigraphy of Cambodia', 'Elements of Hindu Culture in Central Asia', 'Origins of Buddhism', 'Sakti Cult in Ancient Rajasthan', 'Genesis and Nature of Feudalism under the Pallavas', 'Linguistics in India' and 'Archives in Ancient India'.

The book is a veritable boon not only for a serious student of Indology but also for a general reader wishing to know more of ancient Indian history and culture.

Rs. 325

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With deep regards to
Prof. B. N. Puri

11.7.'87

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INDOLOGICAL STUDIES
Prof. D.C. Sircar Commemoration Volume

State Museum Library
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राज्य संग्रहालय पुस्तकालय
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abhinav publications

First Edition : 1987

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Publishers
Shakti Malik
Abhinav Publications
E-37, Hauz Khas
New Delhi-110 016

I S B N 81-7017-220-9

Printers
Hans Raj Gupta & Sons
Anand Parbat
New Delhi-110 005

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PREFACE

Professor D.C. Sircar strode like a colossus across the field of Ancient Indian History and Culture for nearly half a century. His passing away on 10 January 1985 left a void that cannot be filled. All those who came into contact with him held him in high esteem for his scholarship and a ceaseless quest for knowledge. This volume is a humble tribute of his disciples and admirers to the memory of the great savant.

More than a score of renowned scholars and orientologists have enthusiastically responded to our request and sent their papers for this volume, as a token of deep respect which they had for that great Indologist. We extend our sincerest thanks to all of them for their whole-hearted co-operation. The book covers different aspects of their subjects in twenty-seven papers. The piece by Dr. A.L. Basham (alas! he has left us) is a learned addition to our understanding of the great Aśoka. Prof. Romila Thapar's paper on the Mauryan period is a useful contribution to our knowledge of an important period of history. Prof. J.D.M. Derrett's article is an interesting study on the Dhammapada. Dr. John C. Huntington's study of a section of an early portable shrine from Gandhāra is fascinating. Prof. H.D. Sankalia's paper is based on his recent excavation of the site. It has pushed back Indian civilization to the Old Stone Age.

Other talented Indologists have enriched this volume by contributing valuable research papers on different aspects of Indology. Death has removed two of our valued friends, Debkumar Chakravarty and Arabinda Ghosh whose learned papers are included in the volume as a mark of respect to their departed souls.

While Dr. S.V. Sohoni pays his tribute to Prof. Sircar, Dr. S.K. Maity who had life-long association with his teacher, not only gives a short biographical sketch but has also compiled an exhaustive bibliography of his teacher's published works, research papers and articles on epigraphy and palaeography. Dr. Upendra Thakur, another disciple of Prof. D.C. Sircar does his *Guru-Vandana* and gives an impressive account of his teacher.

We further express our sincerest gratitude to Prof. Sukumar Das of School of Regional Printing Technology, Jadavpur, without whose urgrudging help and suggestions this work would not have been possible. Our thanks are also due to Mr. Shakti Malik of Abhinav Publications for its elegant publication.

We sincerely hope that this volume covering various aspects of Early Indian History and Culture will not only prove useful to serious students and researchers of Indology but will also help a general reader in having a better appreciation of ancient Indian Culture

Calcutta
March 1987

S.K. Maity
Upendra Thakur

1

EMPEROR AŚOKA

A.L. Basham

Aśoka (Sanskrit), Aśoka (Pāli), (ruled *c.* 270-230 B.C.), Emperor of India, third monarch of the Mauryan dynasty, who, after his conversion to Buddhism, was largely responsible for the development and expansion of that religion.

Sources

The main sources for Aśoka's reign are the inscriptions on rocks and pillars, by means of which he made his reforming legislation known to his subjects and exhorted them to follow *Dhamma* (morality, righteousness). They fall into two main series, the Rock Edicts, of which there are fourteen, found in various recensions carved on rocks in widely scattered places from the Deccan to the north-west frontier of Pakistan, and the Pillar Edicts, of which there are seven, carved on monolithic pillars in various places in the Ganga Valley. A number of shorter and less important inscriptions of Aśoka are also found on rocks and pillars, and are generally referred to as Minor Rock and Pillar Edicts respectively.

As well as these, traditions about Aśoka are preserved in Buddhist sources. The *Theravāda* Chronicles of Sri Lanka tell of him, since he was, it appears, mainly responsible for the conversion of the Island to Buddhism. There is also a section of Buddhist legends about Aśoka, as *Aśokāvadāna*, in the lengthy compendium of Buddhist traditions, the *Divyāvadāna*, which has been preserved by the Mahāyānists. These traditions have a respectable antiquity, but it is certain that in the form we have them they have been worked over by hagiographers. It is difficult to sift reliable historical information from them, especially as the inscriptions, the *Theravāda* tradition and the *Aśokāvadāna* have very little in common except that Aśoka was converted to Buddhism and strove to promote that religion.

A few references to Aśoka occur in later Buddhist texts, and in Hindu literature, but they throw little further light upon him. Unlike his father and grandfather, he is not mentioned in Greek and Latin sources.

Early Life

Aśoka was the son of Bindusāra (*c.* 298-270 B.C.), and grandson of Candragupta (*c.* 322-298 B.C.), the founder of the Maurya dynasty. According to the *Theravāda* tradition he was appointed by his father as governor of Ujjain (Western India), while the *Aśokāvadāna* tells that he was sent to Taxila (near modern Islamabad, Pakistan), where he put down a popular revolt against the oppressive officials who had preceded him, without bloodshed.

The *Theravāda* tradition states that Aśoka was not the normal heir to the throne, and succeeded his father Bindusāra after fratricidal strife, in the course of which ninety-nine of his brothers lost their lives. His *de facto* accession is said to have occurred four years before his formal consecration as Emperor. Considerable controversy exists about the exact date of his accession, but it is certain that it took place within a few years before or after 270 B.C. He is said to have reigned for thirty-six years, which, with the four years of *de facto* rule, make a total of forty. P.H.L. Eggermont, however, rejects the tradition of the four-year interval. The *Aśokāvadāna* does not mention his usurpation, but both Buddhist sources agree that he began his reign as an oppressive tyrant.

From his capital, Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna, Bihar), Aśoka governed a larger empire than that of any previous ruler of India. It included almost the whole of the subcontinent except the modern Tamil Nadu, Kerala, the southern part of Karnataka, Assam and Bangladesh. Eastern Afghanistan was also part of his empire. He was, in fact, the most powerful monarch anywhere in the world at that time.

Aśoka's Conversion

It appears from the Thirteenth Rock Edict that, when Aśoka had been consecrated eight years, approximately in 258 B.C., he waged a bloody campaign in Kaliṅga (modern Orissa), which appears to have previously been part of the Mauryan empire, but to have temporarily re-established its independence. The Emperor was so shocked at the carnage and suffering of the war that he experienced a change of heart, and vowed to abandon aggressive war forever. It was after this, it is generally thought, that he became a Buddhist, though he may have come under Buddhist influence earlier.

Aśoka's remorse and conversion after this war are attested by his own inscriptions. The account was engraved on rocks in many parts of his empire for all to read; yet neither of the Buddhist traditions makes any mention of the war. According to the *Theravāda* tradition, Aśoka was converted through the preaching of a novice monk, only seven years old. The *Aśokāvadāna*, on the other hand, states that he was so impressed by the fortitude and calm of a monk under torture that he gave up his evil ways forthwith and became a Buddhist. The discrepancies show how untrustworthy the traditions are.

For the first eighteen months after his conversion Aśoka, on his own admission, was not very firm in his faith. Then he began to draw more closely to the Buddhist order of monks. His new policy is first proclaimed in a Minor Rock Edict, which exists in several versions, and which appears to be his first official pronouncement of his new policy. Here, in a passage dubiously interpreted, he declares that the gods who had not earlier mingled with men were now doing so as the result of his reforms, and he calls on all small and great to follow his example in order that they may win heaven.

In this inscription, almost certainly the first to be promulgated, Aśoka openly admits his conversion to Buddhism, but does not use the word which in later inscriptions represented the keynote of his new policy—*Dhamma*. This word (same meaning as *Dharma* in Sanskrit) has innumerable connotations and is virtually untranslatable. In the Greek edict from Kandahar *Dhamma* appears as *eusebeia* generally translated as 'piety'. In the inscriptions it generally seems to convey the sense of 'goodness', 'morality' without sectarian overtones. Religious movements such as Buddhism have their own special *Dhammas* but the *Dhamma* proclaimed by Aśoka in his major edicts is a simple code of morality involving respect for and helpfulness towards all other beings, including animals. There is nothing about it that is particularly Buddhist and Aśoka urged his subjects to respect not only Buddhist monks, but also Brahmans and ascetics of all sects. Indeed it has been suggested that the policy of *Dhamma* was adopted chiefly for political ends, in order to bring about some degree of unity and solidarity in Aśoka's far-flung and incoherent empire. Such motives may have had some weight with the Emperor, but there is no doubt that he personally believed in *Dhamma* very strongly, and it was no mere political ploy.

Aśoka's Reforms

The inscriptions reflect a clear attempt on Aśoka's part to reform his administration in the light of his new convictions. He takes pride in the social services he has inaugurated, including free medical aid to his subjects and the development of watering and resting places along the roads to make travel less arduous. The legal system was made more just and less oppressive, although the death penalty was not abolished. Evidently the reforms encountered some resistance on the part of certain government officers, for, in a special edict found only in Orissa, he reproaches them for their lack of enthusiasm in implementing his policy. In the thirteenth year after his consecration he instituted a new class of high ranking officials, called the 'Officers of Righteousness' (*Dhamma-mahāmatta*), to ensure that the policy of *Dhamma* was fully implemented. They were sent out from the capital, Pāṭaliputra, and took orders direct from the Emperor, bypassing the provincial governors.

Aśoka was evidently intensely concerned in promoting vegetarianism in his empire. He forbade the sacrifice of animals in his capital, a reform which must have affected the livelihood of a considerable number of Brahman officiants. He drastically reduced the number of animals killed for food in the royal kitchens, and declared that the daily slaughter of two peacocks and the occasional butchering of a deer were to be given up in the future. In the Fifth Pillar Edict, promulgated when he had been consecrated for twenty-six years, he explicitly bans the killing of certain animals (strangely enough, excluding the cow) and forbids all butchering and hunting whatever on certain days of the lunar month. A late minor inscription from Kandahar, bilingual in Greek and Aramaic, states explicitly that the fishermen and huntsmen "of the king" had given up their activities. The exact implication of this statement is uncertain; it may refer to a small class of state servants, but, since all rivers and wastelands were theoretically the property of the crown, it is possible that some attempts were made to ban fishing and hunting altogether.

Though in his long Thirteenth Rock Edict Aśoka states that after the Kaliṅga campaign he has given up wars of conquest, it is clear that he did not wholly abandon his imperialist ambitions, though they were transferred, so to speak, to a higher plane, for he states that he is in fact still gaining victories, but these are victories through *Dhamma*. He has won such victories far beyond his own empire, in the lands of the South as far as *Taṃbapaṃni* (probably Sri Lanka) and even "in the realm of the Greek king Antiochus, and beyond that Antiochus among the four kings Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas and Alexander." This list (which, incidentally, provides an invaluable synchronism) covers practically the whole Hellenistic world of the time, and probably reflects one or more embassies sent by Aśoka to the five Greek monarchs. Thus he was still an imperialist of a sort, trying through moral suasion to gain influence over the whole world as he knew it. He visualized himself, it seems, as the moral leader of the whole of humanity. "All men", he declares, "are my progeny", and possibly he intended this statement to be taken almost literally, in view of the ambiguity of the word *pajā*, which means both 'progeny' and 'subjects'.

Already the most powerful monarch in the contemporary world, he felt himself to be the ruler of a spiritual empire which embraced all humanity. There is no evidence, incidentally, that as a result of his change of heart he greatly reduced or disbanded the mighty Mauryan army, which, under his grandfather, had successfully resisted Seleucus Nicator, the heir to Alexander in Asia. Indeed, in the same Thirteenth Rock Edict Aśoka gives a clear hint of the iron fist in the velvet glove :

> The Beloved of the Gods (*Devānampiya*, a Mauryan royal title) will forgive as far as he can, and he even conciliates the forest tribes of his dominions; but he warns them that there is power even in the remorse of the Beloved of the gods, and he tells them to reform, lest they be killed.

No records of Aśoka's embassies of *Dhamma*, incidentally, are to be found in any Greek or Latin source, which suggests that, if they reached their destinations, they made little impression on the ambitious Hellenistic rulers of the West.

Aśoka and Buddhism

Some efforts have been made to show that Aśoka was anti-Brahmanical in his new policy. This theory depends on inaccurate translations of certain passages in his inscriptions, and has no sound basis, though his banning of animal sacrifice in Pāṭaliputra and his disparagement of useless ceremonies and rituals in the Ninth Rock Edict may have given the Brahmans cause for annoyance. Like most later Indian kings, he gave qualified support to all the religious groups in his kingdom, and he even donated highly polished artificial caves in the Barabar Hills, near Gaya, to the Ājīvikas, who were opponents of the Buddhists.

Nevertheless, despite his ecumenical attitude to other sects, reflected very clearly in his Twelfth Rock Edict, Aśoka was a committed Buddhist, and announced himself as such in his earliest surviving public pronouncement. There can be no doubt about his efforts to promote Buddhism above all other sects and religious systems. Though the Buddhist tradition depicts Buddhism as an important factor in the religious life of India from its very foundation, it seems likely that, until Aśoka gave it his backing, it was less influential than certain other heterodox systems, such as Ājīvikism and Jainism. He is said to have erected *stūpas* (Buddhist sacred mounds) in immense numbers throughout his realm. The *Theravāda* tradition records a great council of *Theravāda* monks held in Pāṭaliputra during his reign, after which missionaries were sent out to all parts of the subcontinent, and beyond it, to Burma and Sri Lanka. Burman Buddhists still look up to the missionary monks Sona and Uttara as the apostles of Burma, but there is no evidence, archaeological or otherwise, of their activities there. On the other hand, from this time onwards ample archaeological evidence in Sri Lanka indicates that there the mission was rapidly successful. According to the *Theravāda* tradition the leader of the Buddhist mission to Sri Lanka was Mahinda (Sanskrit, Mahendra), said to be a son of Aśoka who had become a Buddhist monk.

Aśoka's Last Years

A number of minor inscriptions on pillars, evidently engraved near the end of Aśoka's reign, show that his interest in the Buddhist Order intensified with advancing years. In these he instructs his officers to ensure that heretical monks are expelled from the Order, indicating that by now Buddhism had virtually become the state church, a situation not at all evident from the major inscriptions, but confirmed more or less by Buddhist tradition. In a remarkable inscription on a stone slab, found at Bairat, Rajasthan, Aśoka even instructs the Buddhist monks to study certain named passages of scripture.

The *Aśokāvadāna* states that at the end of his reign Aśoka became so generous towards the Buddhist Order that the princes and ministers were alarmed at his profligacy, and he was deprived of control of the treasury by a palace coup, which forced him into virtual retirement. This tradition cannot be confirmed, but his increasing enthusiasm for Buddhism is evident from his inscriptions. These, and the *Aśokāvadāna* tradition, suggest that in his later years he was tending to lose touch with political reality, and his grip on affairs was weakening.

The most favoured date for Aśoka's death is 232 B.C. The date depends on complicated calculations based on the date of the death of the Buddha, which is also quite uncertain. We may be sure, however, that Aśoka died within a few years of the conventional date. His vast empire broke up, and the process of disintegration may have begun even before his death. The successors of Aśoka have left few records, but there is good reason to believe that they did not share his intense Buddhist convictions. The Maurya dynasty, in a diminished form, lasted about another fifty years, when it was replaced by the Śuṅga dynasty, whose founder, Puṣyamitra, was an orthodox Brahman.

Aśoka's Legacy

Our knowledge of Aśoka is not as thorough as the historian might wish, and much of what has been written about him, strictly speaking, is not warranted by the evidence. The inscriptions are composed in a very difficult form of Prākrit, of which many passages are ambiguous and some virtually unintelligible. Moreover they are intended to project a public image, and they may not show us all sides of Aśoka's character. The legends depict Aśoka as obsequiously humble towards the Buddhist monks, but otherwise the typical despotic ruler, ready to order arbitrary executions and enjoying the delights of his harem. There may be some truth in this picture, which is partially confirmed by the inscriptions. But the figure that appears from the inscriptions differs from the typical despot inasmuch as he shows an intense feeling of responsibility for the welfare of his subjects, and indeed for the welfare of all humanity, and a very strong moral purpose.

Somewhat naive in his attitudes, and certainly over-optimistic, Aśoka seems to have believed that his reforms would mark a turning point in history, which in a sense they did. They would last, so he told his subjects, for "as long as the moon and the sun". They were soon forgotten after his death, however, even by the Buddhists, who remembered him chiefly as a great patron of their faith. By the Hindus he was remembered merely as a name in the Mauryan kinglist.

Yet Aśoka had an important effect on the history of India. His constant propaganda must have done much to promote the principles of non-violence (*ahimsā*) and vegetarianism, which are maintained by most Hindu sects down to the present day. But perhaps his most important bequest to humanity was his unqualified support of Buddhism, through which that religion embarked on a career of development and expansion which was to make it one of the most important religions of the world.

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2

SOME ASPECTS OF RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY CONTACTS BETWEEN INDIA AND THAILAND

Upendra Thakur

Indian influence on Thai culture can be traced as far back as to the seventh-eighth century A.D., when the Thais were confined to South China with NanChao as their kingdom. While this influence was partly due to their direct contact with the Indian settlers, it was brought mainly indirectly through the Indianized kingdoms of Dvāravatī, Śrīvijaya, Kambuja (Cambodia), Burma and Ceylon. As we know, the Thais came to Thailand in the thirteenth century A.D. when they were driven out of their former home by Kublai Khan, the great Mongol conqueror. NanChao, being a very powerful kingdom in those days (seventh century A.D.), played an important role in the history of South-East Asia till it was conquered by Kublai Khan.

NanChao was situated in close proximity to the Indianized kingdom of Pyu which lay on a route between India and China at a time when intercourse between these countries was active. As a result of these trade activities it had been exposed to Indian culture for centuries. Scholars subscribing to the theory of Indian influence on NanChao believe that it reached Tali (NanChao) in the second half of the eighth century through Kāmarūpa and Tibet routes since the Burma route was not opened to traffic till between A.D. 791 and A.D. 858.[1]

During this period Buddhism was quite popular at NanChao where two bells with Buddhist inscriptions in Chinese and Sanskrit dated *c.* eleventh century A.D. have been found. The folklore current there also refers to the Brahman advisers to the government as well as Indian settlements in NanChao. It is interesting to note that the most important Thai kingdom in Yunnan was known as Gandhāra, and one portion of this kingdom was called Videharājya[2] whose capital was named Mithilā.[3] The king of this Videharājya used the title *Mahārāja* who was reportedly to have descended from Aśoka.[4] The people of the NanChao region were so thoroughly Indianized that they used an alphabet of Indian origin. According to a legend current in the region, Avalokiteśvara came from India and converted the people to Buddhism which in the course of time became so popular that even the names of places and symbols came to be associated with it, such as the sacred hill Gṛddhakūṭa, the Bodhi-tree, the Pippala cave, etc. A tenth century Chinese traveller refers to a local tradition which asserted that the Buddha attained enlightenment in Yunnan itself. Writing in the thirteenth century Rashiduddin not only calls the country as Gandhāra but asserts that its people came from India and China.[5] The Pāli chronicles and the Chinese annals also endorse the view that the Thais, although ethnically related to the Chinese, had acquired more traits of Indian culture than Chinese before they were forced out of their homeland. In northern China there is no trace of Indian influence in matters of dress, customs, literature, art and religion.

Before the arrival of the Thais the entire area comprising now the present Thailand was populated by the Mons of Dvāravatī kingdom, stretching from present-day Cambodia through the Chao Phraya Valley and the Malay country as far as Pegu in Burma. All these regions were deeply influenced by Indian culture. The north, however, felt the impact for the first time when it was conquered by the Mons of

Central Thailand in the eighth century. A study of the archaeological finds at Pong Tuk and Phra Pathom suggests that central Thailand came into contact with Amarāvatī even before the Mons arrived from Lower Burma. Among the relics found at Phra Pathom we come across the Buddhist symbol, *Dharmacakra*, which clearly points to the spread of Buddhism in Thailand even before the Christian era, because the *Dharmacakra* belongs to that early phase of Indian art when the Buddha was not represented in human form but only through symbols. The specimen found at Phra Pathom may not be very old, but it is not later, in any case, than the first or second century A.D.

The most ancient objects of culture found in Thailand in the course of excavations in 1927 at Pong Tuk and Phra Pathom are all relics of Indian culture. Besides these, other objects such as votive tablets of Bodhgaya style and bronze Buddha images exhibit Gupta influence and could not be later than the sixth century A.D. Since no Khmer or Thai images or objects have been found on this site and all the relics are Buddhist, it is rightly suggested that Pong Tuk constituted an important centre of Buddhist worship from the early years of the Christian era up to the sixth-seventh century A.D. The discovery of *Dharmacakra* at Phra Pathom, noted above, suggests that Buddhism entered this region much earlier, and the early inhabitants of western Thailand must have principally remained Buddhist for a long time, as no early Hindu relics have been found in the area. Thus, we find that Indian cultural influence continued to grow in Thailand throughout: first through its contact with Amarāvatī in South India, and later with neighbouring Dvāravatī in the Chao Phraya Valley, an Indianized kingdom of Thailand of which Pong Tuk may well have been a part.[6] The archaeological and sculptural remains in the Dvāravatī region make it clear that the Mons were mainly instrumental in carrying Indian influence on Thai culture. Although the latter were conquered by the Cambodians, they were allowed to practise their own religion—Hīnayāna Buddhism—as a result of which their civilization remained fully unaffected.[7]

Palembang in Sumātrā formed the capital-seat of Śrīvijaya kingdom under the Mahāyānist dynasty of the Śailendras which included modern Malaysia and southern Thailand. It played a central role in Indian sea-trade with the countries of South-East Asia, as well as in the transmission of Indian culture. In southern Thailand the early monuments that we have at Chaiya, Takuapa, Nakhom Sridhammarat (Ligor) and Yala (near Pattani) are impressive examples of the local Indianized art, resembling Gupta and Pallava architecture. And of all these Indianized states the most important was Ligor (now Nakhom Sridhammarat) which was essentially a Buddhist settlement. It is interesting to note that some of the fifty temples that encircled the *Stūpa* belong to a very early period and there are also Brahmans of Indian descent at Patalung, who trace the arrival of their ancestors by an overland route from India across the Malay Peninsula.[8] In addition, numerous relics from India of Hindu origin excavated there include sculptures—both Buddhist and Hindu images—which in the past, were supposed to have been imported indirectly to southern Thailand by the Śrīvijaya kingdom, especially the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, first introduced in Thailand at this time.

Cambodia received Indian culture during the early centuries of the Christian era, i.e., in the Funan period. The eastern, central and north-eastern regions of Thailand were politically part of Cambodia from the early years of the third century A.D. to the thirteenth century. And, it was during this period that the Thais were influenced by Hinduism of which we come across many traces. One of the oldest sites in central Thailand, eighty miles north of Bangkok, is Lopburi (Lavo), a minor city at present, but for centuries a centre of Mon-Indian culture which later became the capital of the central Thai province of the Cambodian kingdom[9] in A.D. 1002 and became renowned as the "Lopburi period". Though the archaeological and sculptural remains belonging to the succeeding period are somewhat scanty, nevertheless they suggest that during the eighth-ninth centuries the people of central Thailand practised both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, and their art was fully influenced by Gupta art. The Thais, on the other hand, never professed Hinduism, but the kings of Sukhothai recruited their Viṣṇu Court Brahmans from Cambodia, and assumed much of the Cambodian Viṣṇu Court ceremonial.[10]

Before the commencement of the reign of Aniruddha (A.D. 1044-1077), the great king of Burma, Buddhism had been established in South-East Asia, and the ancient Mon kingdoms of Thaton in Burma and Dvāravatī in Thailand were already centres of Theravāda Buddhism, the latter certainly from the beginning of the sixth century A.D. onward. He was the first king who united Burma and founded his kingdom at Pagan whence he built up a vast empire. According to Thai chronicles, he ruled over most of what now comprises Thailand, and probably began extending his empire into Cambodia too. It may be mentioned that he conquered the country of Chiang-Mai, also called Lanna at that time, and reached southward as far as the Dvāravatī kingdom then situated at Lopburi. Theravāda Buddhism was established as state religion in Dvāravatī under this king. He is said to have employed a Mon monk to teach Buddhism to his people. According to a legend current in Thailand, when Shin Arahan encountered difficulties with the Tāntrika Mahāyānist sect of Aris living in Upper Burma, he needed a copy of the *Tripiṭaka* the Theravāda Pali canon, to instruct them properly. As thirty sets of *Tripiṭakas* were supposedly kept at Thaton, king Aniruddha attacked and conquered Thaton and brought the *Tripiṭakas* in order to serve the noble cause of enlightening the northern Mahāyānists.

It was in A.D. 1153 that the Ceylonese Buddhism was first introduced in Thailand during the reign of king Parākamabāhu (Parākramabāhu). Since that time the religious intercourse between Thailand and Ceylon has been kept up to the present day. The Ceylonese Buddhism was first established in southern Thailand, Nakhon Śrī Dhammarat, and later it was brought to the kingdom of Sukhothai which was at the time being ruled over by king Ramkhamhaeng who invited monks from Ceylon. They settled down at Nakhon Śrī Dhammarat to propagate Buddhism in Sukhothai kingdom. From this time onward Ceylonese Buddhism (Theravāda) gradually flourished in Thailand and the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism started declining and finally disappeared. As a result, the Thais adopted its monastic practices as well as its doctrines. Monasteries and other religious buildings came to be built after Ceylonese style. Sanskrit was replaced by Pali in reciting the doctrine and the study of Pali language was vigorously cultivated as could be seen from the *Thribhūmi* of Phra Ruang written by king Mahādhammarāja of Sukhothai period. This work dealing with cosmology is regarded as significant literature of Thailand of the Sukhothai period.

This religious contact between the two countries was enthusiastically continued even during the Ayudhyā period when three missions of Ceylon were sent to Ayodhyā (*c.* A.D. 1750) for bringing the monks to this kingdom to give ordination to the Ceylonese. At the end of the Ayodhyā period we find that a great revolution overtook the religious life of Ceylon due to the splendid bloom of Buddhism in Thailand. The king of Ceylon asked the Thai king to send a Thai delegation of monks to Ceylon as a result of which the new name 'Sayam Wong' or 'Upali Wong' became quite popular in Ceylon. This indirectly shows that Buddhism originating from India took deep roots in Ceylon under the new name of Ceylonese or Laṅkā Buddhism which was later introduced in Thailand and came to be known as such.

We have discussed elsewhere[11] how the Brahmans in Thailand played an important role in shaping Thai culture affecting their rites and ceremonies which were not wholly Buddhist. They still have an important role to play, particularly in performing royal ceremonies such as changing the Emerald Buddha Image's seasonal dresses, the Royal coronation ceremony, the Royal ploughing and harvesting ceremony and celebrating the State ceremonies for the major deities. In addition, they also assist in ceremonies blessing the founding of shops and government buildings and offices. Greatly respected for their sacred learning they also give guidance to the people who are interested in the origin and evolution of major deities of Buddhism or Brahmanism. They also cast horoscopes, perform name-blessing ceremonies and hold topknot-haircutting ceremonies for young boys and girls.[12] Besides this, office of the *Purohita* (Chief Chaplain) was also held by the Brahmans, which was however discontinued during the Bangkok period. The office of the *Purohita* having been abolished and that of astrologer having passed into the hands of the non-Brahmans the present Thai Brahmans enjoy only the duties of officiating priests, if and when a royal ceremony is performed. Whatever their status today, the fact remains that in early periods they played an important role in moulding Thai as well as Cambodian cultures.

It is also significant to note that the introduction of Indian religions into Thailand tremendously influenced Thai literature and dramas which were based mainly on those of India. As the Thai were great assimilators, wherever they went they took whatever they could and adopted them to their own use. This happened also with the Thai script and Thai literature as well as Thai customs and ways of thinking. They adopted majority of the alphabets current in India.

So far as we know, the Thai in Yunnan adopted Chinese script as is evident from the inscriptions of Kolofeng which were recently discovered. Muller has also shown that they used Chinese scripts to write Thai words. The Thai of Burma also adopted the Mon-Burmese style of script and the Thai of Assam adopted a more Indian way of script. It is interesting to know that some of the most important inscriptions in Sanskrit and Pāli are in Devanāgarī script. The Southern group, the Thai of Laos, Tongkin and Thailand, adopted Khmer or Khom script during the reign of Rama Khamhaeng, the king of Sukhothai who from the Khmer script had invented the Thai system of writing in A.D. 1283. This new script was in the course of time adopted by the Lao also, who further modified it into a more cursive style of writing. They have yet another form of writing, known as *Tua-Bhamma* which is more in line with Mon and Burmese writing. The new Sukhothai form of writing (script) was also adopted by the Thai of Sibsong-Chutai who in their close contacts with the Vietnamese and the Chinese had adopted the brush for writing, making the Thai script into strokes almost entirely new, but sufficiently recognizable by the Thai of the South. The Rāma Khamhaeng script writing (script) may thus be regarded as the starting point of Thai literature of the Thailand group of the Thai.

The Shan group of Thai people has always had separate history from the Thai of Thailand. They have developed their own literature. The Ahoms in Assam have become mixed up with the local Hindu people, and their literature has taken after the Hindus. The Lao, on the other hand, have closer links with the Thai of Thailand; their literature has therefore developed along the same line as the Thai of Thailand and has borrowed or taken over the elements from the Thai of the South. They have thus many things in common like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Jātaka* tales both being greatly influenced by the Brahmanical and Buddhist religions which had originated in India.

In fact, the literatures of the Lao and the Thai have many Hindu elements in their fold. We have numerous books in old literature, which abound in magic prayers, old form of herb-medicines, massage, elephantry, war-strategy, swordsmanship, spirit worship, women at child-birth, fortune-telling, astrology, myth, and legends portraying heroes possessing magic powers who attract beautiful maidens, princes and princesses and their court-life and so on. The themes are the same. We have also treatises bordering on Buddhist religion, metaphysics, stories of saints, cosmology, origin of man, religious commentaries, stories of misdeeds and vices and the punishments which follow. They clearly point out that the older generations were pious and religious and believed in spirits, supernatural powers, magic myths and legends. Thus we find that the Siamese traditional literature is essentially religious, based mainly on the literature in olden days which comprised works on Buddhist religion and romantic tales and mythology derived from Hinduism and Buddhism directly. The stories of *Madanabadha* (*Madana-vadha*) and of Sāvitrī and Satyavāna both of which are based on Indian themes are another pointer in this direction. Another interesting aspect of this literature is that the old Siamese works were composed in verse as in India. In recent times much of the *Kāvya* literature, together with romantic tales of India, was introduced into Siamese literature through English translations. This was due to the initiative of King Vajiravudh (Rama VI) who was a poet-king of modern times.

Buddhism has had an enormous impact on Thai literature. The lives of the Buddha, his disciples and eminent figures connected with him have furnished Thai poets and writers with a rich source of material. The Jātaka stories of Buddha's incarnations before attaining enlightenment have been elaborated and adapted by Thai poets with a large measure of poetic licence. The teachings of the Buddha have inspired countless people and have coloured their thought and imagination. However great their number be and whatever skill shown in the adaptation and embroidering the works of religious inspiration, they do not, as a rule, exhibit much originality of outlook or conception. Mention, however, must be made of one outstanding work of this category, i.e., the *Vessantara Jātaka*,[13] a long poem composed on a rather loose rhyme called "rai" having as the subject-matter the Buddha's last incarnation before being born as Prince Siddhārtha. This great work based on an older version, called *Mahājat Kamluang* in Ayudhyā period, was composed in the reign of the Chakri dynasty, about a hundred and fifty years ago by several eminent poets. It is also known as the *Mahāchat Kham Thet*, and its story is very popular throughout the country. It is a story which appeals to most Thai people and it is one of the books which no Thai youth misses in his school. The country folk know the story, for there is a traditional festival in connection with the preaching of it in the preaching hall of the monasteries throughout the country.[14]

The work is divided into thirteen cantos, each devoted to a virtue cultivated by Prince Vessatara such as alms-giving, renunciation of the mundane life, perseverance, honesty and compassion. The poem brings into play the whole gamut of human passions, maternal love, struggle between paternal love and an overpowering sense of duty, greed, jealousy, anger and cruelty. The reader's heart-strings are continually pulled at by such scenes as mother's tearful search for her children in the forest and the harrowing account of her suffering. Apart from the heights of pathos and other emotions, the poem is enlivened by a liberal supply of humour. It may be said that each canto has its own characteristic tenor and mood which is pathetic, dignified, awesome, jubilant, and its story and characters have always been vivid in the minds of the Thai people.

Besides Buddhism, Brahmanism also has exerted tremendous impact on Thai literature. The two great epics of the Hindus, which have most influenced Thai literature, are the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is better known to the Thai as *Rāmakien*, a freely adapted Thai version. As a matter of fact, there are at least four Thai versions of the *Rāmakien* (*Ramakīrti*). Four crowned heads of Thailand had each to their credit a version of this great epic. Several of these re-written Thai versions still exist, but the most famous and complete in story is the one written by King Rāma I. It was written in poetical style and forms the theme of the famous frescoes in the temple of the Emerald Buddha in the Grand Palace of Bangkok. The Thai version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was generally adapted to Thai sentiments and colouring, and portrays the customs, beliefs, politeness and gallantry of Thai ways of life. All the things they use such as the palaces, the races, the dresses, utensils, the art and architecture, the forms of entertainment, the ancient art of war, the ways of expression and sentiments expressed are no longer Indian, but pictures of Thai life. True, the story is Indian but the clothes they now wear are Thai of former days.

All these versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are written in verse either to be read or to be sung in the dramatic performance of *Khong*. Though all the versions agree in the main with the epic of Vālmīki, many exotic episodes were introduced in the Siamese versions whose origin may be traced to the *Rāmāyaṇa* current in South India, especially the Tamil version. Besides this, one of the episodes in the Siamese version is almost identical with the characters of Kakuā in the Bengali version of *Candrāvatī*. Other exotic episodes may however be compared with the Javanese and Malay versions.

The story is so made and adapted to Thai character that no Thai thinks of it as a thing of foreign origin. It so depicts Thai ways of life and sentiments that it has become a true masterpiece of Thai literature.

Similarly, the *Mahābhārata* has also been translated and adapted but is less known to the masses. Other important works inspired by Sanskrit literature are *Anirudaha*, *Nala*, *Sāvitrī*, *Śākuntalam*, etc. All these works are in verse penned by eminent poets in the Ayudhyā and Ratanakosin periods.

Most of the stories are Thai folk-tales. The story of *Samuthkhot* is on the same line as the stories in the Sanskrit *Kathāsaritsāgara* (*Ocean of Stories*). It deals with semi-divine vidyādharīs and rākṣasas of Indian mythology. The work was written by a famous court-poet of King Narai, but left unfinished. King Narai continued the task but it was again left unfinished. It was not until sometime in the nineteenth century that the work was completed by a Prince Patriarch who was himself a famous poet in this style of composition. The *Phra Samuthkhot*, heavy in style and intricate in its construction, is full of Sanskrit words not easity intelligible, even to the Thai intelligentsia. It is more artificial than natural and survives only as a classic of its class, as well as for its beautiful rhythmic sounds of the many patterns taken from the Indian metres (*chandas*). It is concerned mainly with the ingenuity of diction, appealing more to the head than to the heart.

The earliest known inscriptions found in various regions of South-East Asia, though composed in Sanskrit, were written in a script which has been found to be identical with the Grantha script used at that time in the Coromondel coastal regions of South India.[15] This script, as we know, was used mostly for books in Sanskrit or for literary purposes.[16] This script is also used in the inscriptions such as those of one Śrī Māra of probably third century A.D. discovered in Campā,[17] in Natrang, South Vietnam, the inscriptions of Mūlavarman[18] of the fourth-fifth century A.D. found in Kutei in East Borneo, the *Ye dhamma* formula inscribed on the rectangular stone-bar of the fourth century A.D. discovered in Kedah in West Malaysia and the inscription of the fifth-sixth century found in Wat Mahādhātu, in Nakorn Śrī Thammarat as well as the four Mon inscriptions engraved on the octagonal stone pillar. What is more significant is that the Grantha script of South India and of South-East Asian states as represented in the surviving inscriptions of the early period shows more or less a parallel development.[19] It was mainly due to the constant contacts and regular communication by sea between the Coromondel coast and South-East Asian states during *c.* 300-800. According to Coedes, "ancient forms of the alphabet continued to be used in the Hindu Kingdoms of Indo-China and Indonesia several decades and several centuries after their disappearance in India."[20]

Apart from the inscriptions, the Grantha script was employed also in the manuscripts of religious and literary works that were in the safe custody of the Brahman scholars and priests at the temples and courts of South-East Asian states. The manuscripts written in what was known as Brahmanical Grantha script were transcribed from time to time. The manuscript copies which have survived to this day, through periodic transcriptions under royal patronage by the scribes of the royal household, are known to have retained some of the old features, beside showing some of the newly-added elements of the script.[21] This shows that the scribes of the royal household in various states of Indo-China and South-East Asia were all acquainted with the form, shape and the significance of the script based on writing official, literary and religious documents.

As we know, racially the Thai people mixed freely with other peoples, which greatly affected their racial features. One cannot distinguish superficially most of the cultural contents of the three races in Thailand. The Thai language had by this time, and after, changed much in respect to its vocabularies. More and more words of Pāli and Sanskrit origin and also of the Mon and Khmer, particularly the latter, had been added. Some of the old Thai words had lost their ground and become obsolete. Their places were taken by exotic words of Pāli, Sanskrit and Khmer.

Whatever words the Thai had adopted, the sounds were changed into the Thai phonetic system. Words with initials and endings of sound of Pali or Sanskrit origin, and words of many syllables were shortened. Thus, the Sanskrit *manuṣya* which means 'man' becomes *manut* in Thai; *Rāṣṭra* in Sanskrit meaning a 'nation' or 'kingdom' becomes in Thai *Ratsadon* or, even shortened in speaking into their accustomed monosyllabic words, as *Rat* which means 'people' only. *Kṣatriya* in Sanskrit (warrior class) becomes *Kasat* which means *king* only. The Thai language though adopted a large number of Pali and Sanskrit words, did not take the reflection of words into its system. Thus *manuṣya* may be used either collectively or in singular and plural number, or in masculine or feminine gender.[22] It requires no change of form in different grammatical cases.

The Siamese legal system is directly descended from the *Manusmṛti* (The Code of Manu) and the Hindu *Dharmaśāstras* provided the framework for Siamese jurisprudence. The earliest legal corpus is dated A.D. 1805, but many of the earlier collections of manuscripts were destroyed when Ayuthia, the capital of Siam at the time, was destroyed[23] by the Burmese. The first volume of this work is justifiably entitled, the *Phra Dhamaśāstra*.

Similarly, some of the domestic ceremonies performed in Siam are of Hindu origin. The royal title is *Rāma*, a Hindu *avatāra* (incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu), and the royal temple at Bangkok contains illustrations from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Hindu festivals, such as *Daśaharā* (commemoration of Rāma's victory over the demon King Rāvaṇa) are still observed in Thailand. *Makara* (*Mai*) *Sankrānti* (*Song hurat*) is still observed as the New Year's day. The Thais, like the Hindus, still believe in Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa and Mahādeva or Śiva, and dislike the *asuras* as the enemies of the *devas*.

Thus, the preceding brief survey would show that the people of Thailand received cultural influences from India in different periods in almost all walks of life and that they adapted the Indian culture to suit the local genius.

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3

EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE AND SOME INDO-HELLENISTIC CONTACTS DURING THE MAURYAN PERIOD

Romila Thapar

Contacts between the Mauryas and the Hellenistic world require renewed scrutiny in the light of fresh evidence and argument. The campaign of Alexander of Macedon in northern India marks a turning point not in terms of conquest but rather in the changes which brought Hellenistic West Asia into dialogue with India. Overland links with Persia and maritime links via the Gulf go back to earlier times, at least to that of the Achaemenids as evident from literary and epigraphical sources and still further back as attested by archaeology. Such links were probably not sporadic and even if the evidence remains restricted it is possible that they were maintained at a substratum level until they surfaced in the post-Alexander period.

Close contacts in the historical period begin with the Achaemenids who claimed the trans-Indus region of the Indian subcontinent as part of their empire and received a tribute in the form of gold dust from these areas.[1] This is reflected in the association of the contiguous regions with *yona rājās* in the Aśokan inscriptions. Achaemenid sources claim to include Sind as well.[2] The evidence of Indian soldiers and of Indian elephants in the army of Darius III at the famous battle of Arbela would point to some control over Indian territories. Curiously however the excavation of Bhir Mound at Taxila does not provide any major evidence of an Achaemenid presence. That there was a presence is however suggested by the Aramaic inscriptions of Aśoka.[3] On the other hand, a senior dignitary of Saurāṣṭra in the Mauryan period carries the unmistakbly Persian name of Tuśāspa, suggesting that the Achaemenid claim to Sind may have included Saurāṣṭra.

The potentiality of India as an area of resources and raw materials conducive to trade was recognized by the Achaemenids. The expedition of Skylax was not motivated only by military concerns.[4] It established the route down the lower Indus and Skylax might have sailed as far as the southern end of the Red Sea. That it took thirteen months might have been due to a long wait at the Indus delta for favourable ocean currents and winds. Nearchus, returning with some of Alexander's forces, is said to have waited until the south-west monsoon ceased, prior to sailing, suggesting that at least those navigators who sailed to the Gulf knew of the monsoon.[5] Possibly the use of it for the south Arabian ports was also known, but came to be used more extensively at a later period. Herodotus adds that subsequent to the voyage of Skylax, Darius conquered India and made use of the sea in those parts.

Mauryan contacts with the Hellenistic kingdoms of West Asia and North Africa are of course well known. Greek sources refer to the confrontation between Candragupta Maurya and Seleukus Nikator, the founder of the Seleukid dynasty. By a treaty in *c.* 303 B.C. the Mauryas acquired territory in Afghanistan and possibly a wider area including Baluchistan and Makran and became the neighbours of the Seleukids.[6] Aśoka in his Thirteenth Major Rock Edict refers to the missions which he has sent to the five *yona rājās*, the Greek kings of the area. The mention of these five kings has its own historical interest.[7] Three among them were major powers, namely, Antiochus the Seleukid, Antogonus of Macedonia and Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt. What remains a puzzle are the lesser two, Magas of Cyrene and Alexander of either Korinth or Epirus and the reason why they, from among the many states of the eastern Mediterranean were included. Perhaps the answer lies in the marriage relations among them, which gave them the appearance almost of an extended family! The five kings were also part of a political network and were not just a casual collection of neighbours to the west.

Antiochus I, the son of Seleukus had relations with both the Macedonians and the Ptolemies. His half-sister was married to Antigonus and his daughter-in-law was the daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Antigonus of Macedon had a sister-in-law from Cyrene and a brother-in-law from Korinth. His daughter-in-law on the death of his son, married Alexander of Korinth who was also the nephew of Antigonus. Ptolemy Philadelphus' son married the daughter of Magas of Cyrene. These marriage links might explain the importance to Aśoka of Cyrene and Korinth where Cyrene was in the Ptolemaic area of influence and both Korinth and Epirus in the Macedonian. It is likely that the Alakasudala of the Aśokan inscription was Alexander of Epirus since Alexander of Korinth did not come to the throne until 252 B.C. after this particular edict had been issued.[8]

Partly because of the hostility between the three major Hellenistic kings there was a tendency for their power to wax and wane. Thus the marriage of Berenike, the Ptolemy princess, to Antiochus II buttressed the weakening Seleukids with financial support from the prosperous Ptolemies: a prosperity which increased subsequently with the exploitation not only of peasant labour for agriculture in the Nile valley but also the expeditions along the Red Sea and links with Ethiopia and southern Arabia if not even further.[9] The closeness of the Ptolemies and the Mauryas may have had to do with some incipient trade relations. A version of the Major Rock Edicts of Aśoka has been found at Sopārā in the Thana District near Bombay. So far this is the only evidence of these edicts at any port on the west coast. The importance of Sopārā is due to its being a port and to trade. Had this been restricted to trade with the Gulf or coastal trade along the west coast then it is probable that the edicts would have been inscribed at a more important port such as Bhṛghukaccha or else in the Indus delta.

The location at Sopārā may point to a direct route to southern Arabia or the southern end of the Red Sea. Given the Ptolemic interest in trade with the East and the establishing of the ports of Myos Hormus and Berenike in the third century B.C. such a possibility cannot be discounted. The attack by Ptolemy Philadelpus on the Nabateans was probably motivated by the wish to capture Nabatean trade with the East and edge them out of the southern Arabian ports, as well as their control over the routes from southern Arabia along the coast to Petra.[10] The initial maritime link between the west coast of India and the Red Sea might have been limited to the southern Nabatean ports but extended north towards Gaza and Egypt under the Ptolemies. If the ports of southern Arabia had direct contacts with Sopārā there would have been an interest on the part of the Ptolemies to control these ports.

As early as the fourth century B.C. the Egyptians brought back cinnamon believing it to be a product of southern Arabia whereas it came from India.[11] Even in a later period when Pliny describes the Red Sea trade,[12] the route of India took more time and required both powerful vessels and a high capital investment which would have been better achieved with some royal patronage.[13] Pliny refers to four phases in the trading contact between Egypt and India in which the south Arabian ports as entreports are important just prior to the direct mid-ocean links.

The exchange of envoys and gifts between the Mauryas and the Ptolemies would be a case of value goods exchanged at elite levels, which could have acted as forerunners to commercial exchange. The interest in trade may also have been encouraged by the demand for elephants for for the armies of he Hellenistic kingdoms. Seleukus received five hundred elephants as part of his treaty with Candragupta Maurya. That elephants were prized commodity is indicated by their use as far afield as the campaigns fought by Pyrrhus of Epirus against the Romans in southern Italy.[14] The Ptolemies may also have been anxious to import Indian elephants into Egypt, even though they had access to African elephants, because it was widely believed that Indian elephants were stronger and tougher and therefore superior in battle particularly those from Taprobane or Sri Lanka. Given the frequency of wars among the Hellenistic kingdoms elephants would have been an important asset. The African elephants used by the Ptolemies were either from Libya or from the region of Ethiopia and were brought along the Red Sea to Berenike. There was, therefore, some expertise in the shipping of elephants. The description left by Callixeinus of the grand procession in honour or Ptolemy Philadelphus sometime in the 270s B.C. mentions Indian women sitting in carts and elephants from India.[15] Admittedly much of the Ptolemaic interest was with what was referred to as 'the southern trade', that is, with the Horn and East Africa but the appointment of a special officer in charge of the trade with the Red Sea and the Indian Sea in the second century B.C.[16] would suggest an interest in the Indian trade starting in the previous century. The evidence of Strabo regarding the expedition of Eudoxus of Cyzicus indicates that by the second century B.C.[17] Indian goods were a regular item in Egyptian part of the royal monopoly of trade of the Ptolemies.

That Cyrene comes into the Mauryan horizon doubtless has to do with its links with the Ptolemies. But it raises another point of interest. Cyrene was renonwed for its production of a special herb, the silphium plant, used in a variety of ways and exported to various parts of the then known world which could have included India.

It is generally assumed that the contact between the Red Sea and western India had with await the discovery of the monsoon winds by Hippalus. This in any case does not preclude coastal or looping trade and possibly the presence of new ports along the Red Sea may have pushed the coastal trade further down from Bhṛghukaccha to Sopārā if not even further south to the coastal area of Karnataka where inscriptions of Aśoka have been found in the Bellary District at Niṭṭūr and Uḍegoḷam.[18] Given the fact that ports in the Indus delta were familiar with problems of sailing during the south-west monsoon as early as the time of Nearchus it is likely that mid-ocean routes from the west coast to the Arabian coast or the Red Sea were also treated with the same caution. The periodicity of both winds and ocean currents in the Arabian Sea may well have been noticed by early mariners and the conducive coinciding of the two, favouring east-west voyages and vice versa, at specific times of the year need not have remained undiscovered until the period of Hippalus. Even navigators using coastal routes would be affected by wind and current and would soon learn to recognize the prime times. The development of the eastern trade was clearly to the advantage of the Hellenistic kingdoms whether it was a maritime trade as with the Ptolemies or an overland trade as with the Seleukids.

Epigraphical evidence on the proximity of the Greeks to the Mauryan empire is available from the Greek inscriptions issued by Aśoka and found in the environs of Kandahar in southern Afghanistan. A recently discovered pre-Aśokan Greek inscription of the early third century B.C. has added to our knowledge of Kandahar as a Greek settlement.[19] In the course of excavation a stone threshold turned out to be the base of a statue inscribed with two elegaic couplets referring to the now absent statue. Paleographically the inscription, though badly worn, is similar to the Hellenistic Greek of the Aśokan inscriptions from Kandahar. The inscription refers to a temenos or sacred precinct and to the son of Aristonax. It has been argued that this and other evidence points to Kandahar having been a regular Greek settlement along the lines of other major centres such as Ai-Khanum on the Oxus. Kandahar has been identified by some scholars with Alexandria in Arachosia. This may well be so given the strategic location of Kandahar as the meeting point of routes going to Herat, Kabul and Seistan and linked with India via the Gomal and Bolan passes.[20] There is also evidence to suggest that the site of Shahr-i-Kohna, which later developed into Kandahar, was earlier an Achaemenid fortress.[21] That Aśoka issued edicts in Greek and Aramaic in this area is therefore not surprising.

A version of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict in a bilingual Greek and Aramaic, refers in a general way to some of his ideas.[22] This inscription as well as the Greek version of a part of the Major Rock Edicts Twelve and Thirteen[23] are important, both in providing additional evidence and in giving contemporary Greek and Aramaic translations of Prākrit words and concepts which have earlier been debated by scholars. In the two versions of the Minor Rock Edict the king states that ten years after his coronation he was drawn to *Dhamma* and its propagation. This clearly refutes the idea of a conversion to Buddhism at the end of the Kaliṅga campaign. Aśoka emphasizes his vegetarianism, non-killing of animals and emphasizes the need for harmonious relations between people, particularly between the young and the old. The reference to expired years of his reign is extremely significant and has helped sort out Mauryan chronology.[24] The terms used for various concepts also have their importance.

Dhamma is translated as *eusebeia* in both the Greek inscriptions. It carries the general meaning of piety, reverence for gods and parents as well as loyalty.[25] It is curious that the translation is of a generalized concept and no mention is made of the teachings of the Buddha in particular. Had the king meant Buddhism when he refers to *Dhamma* then he would most likely have made a specific reference to these teachings since they were not well known in this region as he himself states in the Major Rock Edict Thirteen. The use of *eusebeia* does suggest that it was more his understanding of *Dhamma* that the king was anxious to convey and not merely the propagation of Buddhism.

Similarly in the Aramaic version at Kandahar and in other Aramaic inscriptions, *Dhamma* has been translated by modern scholars as Truth and as "the conduct of the good".[26] The latter phrase is suggestive of Zoroastrianism in which a contrast is drawn between the conduct of good and evil. An intriguing statement in the Aramaic version reads: "and there is no Judgement for all pious men". This has been interpreted in the context of Rock Edict Four, i.e., the officers of the law who have the power to judge.[27] However, it may be suggested that in the same way as the Greek translation draws on terms familar to Greek philosophy such as *eusebeia* and *diatribe*, the Aramaic translation uses terms derived from Zoroastrian thought. Perhaps the Judgement in this case referred not to officers but to the Zoroastrian belief in a judgement after death. This concept being unfamiliar to Greek thought was not used in the Greek version. What the king might have been saying in effect was that those who observe the *Dhamma* or the conduct of the good would be regarded as pious and therefore exempt from judgement after death. Such an interpretation would in principle be perfectly logical. The Aramaic inscription was intended for those familiar with pre-Hellenistic ideas and practices and its appeal was to the Iranians settled in the region. Aśoka's familiarity with Zoroastrianism probably derived from his period as viceroy at Taxila before he became king. That he had this degree of sensitivity to the religious beliefs of those within his empire, enhances one's assessment of him as an administrator. There is also no mention of *brāhmaṇas* and *śramaṇas* in this inscription presumably because, as he states in his Thirteenth Rock Edict, these two categories are absent in the land of the *Yonas*.[28] The above reading would further endorse the suggestion of the significance of an of Iranian population in the north-west of India.

The more recent discovery of Greek versions of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Rock Edicts are not complete translations of the Prākrit texts but are adapted from these. It is unfortunate that only the terminal part of the Twelfth and the initial part of the Thirteenth are available since if the complete texts had been found then a comparison between the Greek and Prākrit versions would have added considerably to our information about the king's policy towards these areas. Among the more interesting Greek words in these texts is the use of *diatribe* as the translation for *pāṣaṇḍā*. Both words in their earlier use referred only to philosophical and religious sects or doctrines.[29] Gradually the notion of hostility came in. Thus they seem to have evolved in a similar pattern. *Pāṣaṇḍa* in the later texts came to mean heretical groups and heresy, and was used especially of Buddhists and Jainas in Brahmanical literature. The transliteration of *brāhmaṇa va sramaṇa* as *bramenai-sramenai* is reminiscent of the quotation from Megasthenes where, in describing the philosophers, he divides them into two groups, the Brachmanes and the Sarmanes.[30] This dual division was evidently the form in which religious groups were perceived at this time. That the hostility between the two grew fairly rapidly after this period is clear from the reference in Patañjali to innate enmity, which he illustrates by referring to the enmity between the snake and the mongoose, the cat and the mouse and the *brāhmaṇa* and *śramaṇa*.[31] Aśoka's plea for tolerance between the *pāṣaṇḍās* and the acceptance of each other's teachings does not seem to have taken root.

The Greek version of the Major Rock Edicts focuses on those sections which deal with Aśoka's concern for the *Dhamma*, the well-being of various sects, non-violence and the desire for harmony in society. References to the work of officers have curiously been omitted.[32] Was this because they were irrelevant to this area which was possibly only loosely under Mauryan control, if at all, as some have argued? Or was it because the lands of the *Yona* were as yet comparatively unfamiliar with the teachings of various Indian sects and the king was primarily interested in proclaiming their virtues as well as his own in the propagation of *Dhamma*?

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4

A QUOTATION FROM THE DHAMMAPADA IN JAYARAKṢITA'S ŚRĪGHANĀCĀRA-SANGRAHA-ṬĪKĀ

J. Duncan M. Derrett

I met the celebrated epigraphist, D.C. Sircar for the first time in 1951, when he helped me with projected studies on Karṇāṭaka. Subsequently he furnished me with copies of inscriptions of legal interest. I met him again only at a conference in Berlin in 1980, when he chaired some papers in Indology. I profited from his genial comradeship. During the same period I attempted to interest certain German Indologists in Jayarakṣita's *Sphutārthā Śrighanācāra-saṅgraha-ṭikā* (ed. Sanghasena in the Tibetan Sanskrit Series, no. 11, Patna, 1968), and Dinesh Chandra Babu was in the audience and contributed to the solution of some problems. Germans asked him afterwards, "What do you think of that man?" (meaning myself) and, according to his own report, he replied, "Many people have their own manner, and Derrett has his own manner!", a classic Indian reply to a foolish question. The recent loss of so versatile a talent arouses infinite regret, and I offer the following trifle as a tribute to his memory.

In Japan, attempting to translate Jayarakṣita I was greatly assisted by Professors T. Yamazaki and M. Hara. One Hiromichi Hikida helped me day by day and subsequently proceeded with work of his own on Jayarakṣita. My draft translation was cleaned of some howlers by Dr. K.P. Aithal. Prof. O. Botto published it (*A Textbook for Novices*) in his series, *Pubblicazioni di "Indological Taurinesia"*, no. 15, Turin, 1983. There are a few blemishes (p. 9 Aryasūra; p. 33, para. 30 watered *with* unclean water). I remained in doubt about two matters on which I should have been enlightened: the first is relatively trivial, the second not so. I had to go to press with those entries in my Question Book unanswered. Let me deal with the trivial point first. The female pudenda are called by Jayarakṣita *malabhrama*. I could find this curious expression in no dictionary and so translated it 'fountain of impurity' (p. 56, para. 14). Unknown to me, S. Lévi in his edition of *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* (1932) at p. 269 had rendered the word 'drain'. Since the female organ is also the route whereby menstrual blood flows out, this Buddhist technical term is quite intelligible and appropriate. R. Salomon in his essay 'Legal and Symbolic Significance of the "Menstrual Pollution" of Rivers' in R.W. Lariviere (ed.), *Studies in Dharmaśāstra* (Calcutta, Firma KLM, 1984), pp. 153-178 (a volume significant also for D.C. Sircar's contribution, 'Glimpses of *Ācāra* and *Vyavahāra* in Early Indian Literary and Epigraphic Records'), opines that *nadīrajodoṣa* arose in the medieval period and under the influence of *tantra*. The likening of the female pudenda to a *drain* seems to be within the same area of ideas, and it is interesting that it appears so much earlier. At my ch. 3, para. 14, therefore we should understand that a novice should not disparage, let alone praise, the breasts, etc., up to and including the *drain*, i.e. female external genital organs.

I pass on to the proper topic of this paper, viz., the quotation of the Dhammapada by Jayarakṣita. The latter belongs to about A.D. 500 ((*Textbook*, p. 7). The work is in pure Sanskrit, a commentary on verses themselves in classical Sanskrit. If the Dhammapada is quoted this is bound to throw light on the Sanskrit version(s) of a work which was originally composed (according to J. Brough) in a Prâkrit so old that we have practically no continuous surviving texts (the Gāndhārī is not the original). The close correspondence between, and derivation of, Indian versions must have some bearing on what could have lain behind the Gāndhārī which Brough edited and which does not contain the verse in which I am interested. My example was not located elsewhere, and none of my helpers recognized it. Jayarakṣita must have had, available to him, a Sanskrit version unlike any so far collected and collated.

He says (ed. Sanghasena, p. 5, lines 7-11):

śarańam gatavān iti ślokaḥ. tatra trāṇārthaḥ śaraṇārthaḥ. ata evāha Bhagavān—
bahavaḥ śaraṇaṃ yānti parvatāṃśca vanāni ca
ārāma-caitya-vṛkṣṃś ca manuṣyā bhaya-tarjitāḥ:
iti gāthā-vacanāt.

It appears that the author has dragged the quotation in more or less capriciously, triggered, as it were, by the word *śaraṇam* in his text, and perhaps this was a favourite verse of his. But if this is recognized (as it will be) as the introductory verse of a group of verses insisting that the four noble truths and the eightfold path are the only safe refuge, the quotation is not only apt, it is highly pertinent. To the historian it may be of interest that even as early as the Dhammapada spiritual sanctuary was conceived as existing in *caityas*, and trees (in *stūpas*?) as well as in *ārāmas*. I translated the *gāthā* (p. 18), 'Many go for refuge to hills and forests, and men overcome with fear seek *āramas*, *caityas* and trees.' The importance of holy places and shrines was no doubt pre-Buddhist and not out of place even in so archaic a work.

Now Vasubandhu in his *Abhidarmakośabhāṣya* IV.32 (ed. Pradhan, 1975, p. 217) reads:

bahavaḥ śaraṇaṃ yānti parvatāṃśca vatāni ca
ārāmān vṛkṣāmścaityāṃśca (MSS Y, D *caityavṛkṣāṃśca*) *manuṣyā bhayavarjitāh.*

The movement (if there was any) from *-varjitāḥ* to *-tarjitāḥ* was obviously right. Now, unknown to me, this part of a set of verses in the Dhammapada (Dhp. 188-192) known to everyone else from the traditional Pāli version (ed. with translation and notes by S. Radhakrishnan, *The Dhammapada*, Madras Oxford University Press, 1966, 1974). The *gāthā* (in ch. XIV, Budhavaggo) runs:

bahum ve saraṇaṃ yanti pabbatāni vanāni ca
ārāmarukkhacetyāni manussā bhayatajjitā,

which suggests that our *-tarjitāḥ* was right, but *bahum*, which goes with *saraṇam* would not correspond to *bahavaḥ*. The Pāli is rendered by I. Babbitt (*The Dhammapada*, New York, New Directions Paperbooks, no. 188, 1965, p. 31): 'Men driven by fear go to many a refuge, to mountains and forests, to shrines and sacred trees'.

The *Divyāvadāna* (ed. E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, Cambridge 1886, reprinted 1970, p. 164) gives all Dhp. 188-192 in a Sanskrit version (without being aware, apparently that *gāthās* from the Dhammapada were being quoted). The first verse read:

bahavaḥ śaranaṃ yānti parvatāmś ca vanāni ca
ārāmāṃś caitya-vṛkṣāmś ca manuṣyā bhaya-varjitāḥ,

a text closely similar to ours but with the objectionable *-varjitāḥ*. F. Bernhard examined all Sanskrit versions known to him (*Udānavarga*, 2 vols., Göttingen, 1965-8). At p. 348 of vol. 1 (XXVII Paśyavarga 31) he prints

bahavaḥ śaraṇaṃ yānti parvatāmś ca vanāni ca
ārāmām vṛkṣa-caityāṃś ca manuṣyā bhaya-tarjitāḥ.

We are entitled to say that more than one Sanskrit version circulated in the early centuries A.D. and that the reading *-tarjitāḥ*, corresponding to the Pāli *-tajjitā* is correct. Our reading *ārāma-caitya-vṛkṣān* is more logical than the series *ārāma*, *vṛkṣa*, *caitya* though that has the sanction of the Pāli. The Pāli commentary on the Dhammapada (of unknown age), in defiance of the text, *does* witness the series 'mountain, forest, grove, tree' (E.W. Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, III, London, Pali Text Society, 1979, pp. 63-64), so a scintilla of doubt remains.

The Pāli *bahum ve saraṇaṃ*, '(to) many a refuge indeed', is intelligible, *ve* being frequent in the Dhp., but we have more than sufficient evidence to suggest that a Prākrit version existed which would give rise to a Pāli *bahavo* (Sanskrit *bahavaḥ*) (cf. Dhp. 307, Vin. III.90). It is true that the Chinese version made by Fa-Kheu and Fa-Lih of the Western Tsin dynasty (A.D. 265-313) from a Pāli original agrees closely with the Pāli we have (S. Beal, *Texts from the Buddhist Canon commonly known as Dhammapada*, London, 1902, sec. XXII, pp. 133-4). 'Truly men seek (through fear) many a refuge; they resort to mountains and valleys, and spirits residing in trees; they erect images as gods, and pay religious worship to them, seeking happiness (merit) . . .' But this evidences only the availability of our Pāli version, or something very like it, to those translators (who were not in fact the very first to undertake the translation of the Dhammapada (with additions) into Chinese), and they can have utilized their predecessors' material. *Bahavo* may make less acceptable sense (in context) than *bahum ve*, but the spread of the Sanskrit versions at least indicates that the other reading had a respectable background. If Prākrit, Pāli, other regional languages, *and* Sanskrit versions were all committed to memory and transmitted orally and in writing, confusion and conflation of versions could hardly be avoided—even if anyone had desired to avoid this, which is not known. Our tiny fragment from a Buddhist work of about A.D. 500 may go a little way to emphasize the difficulty in recovering the 'original' Dhammapada.

5

A STUDY OF THE ROCK PAINTS OF MIRZAPUR SHELTER

Subas Rai and Lallanji Gopal

So far ethno-archaeological methods have been generally used to ascertain the ingredients used for rock paints. Some writings on Indian rock arts include vague or unsubstantiated but categorical statements about the ingredients of the paints used by rock artists. Statements purporting to identify pigments and media have been quoted and sometimes misquoted until the original information, often distorted beyond recognition, has come to be accepted as fact. For most of the statements relatively little actual research has been done in the past to ascertain the composition of rock paints.

In attempting the study of rock art, we must bear in mind the facts that weathering produces a variety of shades, media may affect shades and even colours of pigments, pigments have been mixed to produce different colours, and colours could be transparent or opaque owing perhaps to the thickness of the paints. An added complication is that it is not known how long all plant pigments and animal blood would have lasted nor do we know the extent to which different media might have affected their shades and colours. Durability of pigments would also have depended on factors, such as texture of rock surface, penetration to rock surface, effectiveness of the binders, the granular consistency of the paints and of course, the degree of exposure to the elements. Further, it is to be noted that any analysis can generally refer to the present situation, and at this stage we cannot do much beyond indicating in general terms the basic ingredients in rock paintings.

Sampling and Method

In view of these limitations, the present attempt aims at ascertaining the existing composition of rock paints of Mirzapur with the help of X-ray diffraction study. To abtain the samples, pigments were scrapped with the help of a steel knife, while taking optimum precaution to avoid the mixing of rock constituents. The samples retrieved for the present study are of red, brown and reddish white colours. The X-ray diffraction study was carried with the help of Guiner camera at CuKd radiation with an exposure of 6 and half hours. The diffraction patterns were measured to find out 'd' spacings, which help identify the components. The results of our study of red, brown and reddish white pigments are tabulated in tables 1, 2 and 3 respectively.

Results

The study shows the predominant presence of hematite and sulphur compounds of iron (triolite, pyrite, griegite) in red and brown pigments (tables 1 and 2). The bulk constituents of reddish white pigment are calcite and quartz along with small amount of hematite and sulphur compounds of iron (table 3). It is interesting to note that clay minerals are also ingredients of pigments. Besides these, some components of the pigments could not be identified in the present study.

Discussion

On the basis of the present study, it may be suggested that rock artists of Mirzapur used earth pigments for the preparation of colours and, to enhance the inherent tenacity of pigments, small amount of clay was added to the bulk components. For the preparation of different shadcs of red and brown, iron minerals, such as hematite, triolite, griegite, pyrite, etc., were preferred. These minerals, as a result of weathering, exhibit various characterstic shades. The bulk constituents used for reddish white paint were calcite and quartz. It is interesting to note that similar mineral components have also been reported by Runder (1983) in connection with African rock art. Hence, it may be surmised that the technique of colour preparation during ancient times in both parts of the world was almost the same. So far as the use of blood or plant pigments for rock paintings is concerned, there is no scientific evidence. As shown by the study of Runder (1983) organic components could not withstand the impact of weathering and bacterial action till to date. Hence this hypothesis cannot be supported.

Although no actual research work has been undertaken about the use of media in the Indian context, a close survey of the literature dealing with rock paintings suggests that the substances used as media of rock paints included animal fats (sometimes heated), plant fat, urine bile, plant sap, water and milk. Some limited experiments with many of these substances in the African context have yielded conflicting results about their feasibility. Further, rubbing and washing, the methods to test the durability of these on pieces of rocks, hardly simulate the natural conditions (Runder, 1983). At most it may be suggested that some paints were possibly applied as paste which was thick enough to scrape off, while others were possibly fluid enough to make fine lines and details that have lasted.

Conclusion

On the basis of archaeological evidence reported by S. Rai (1982) and R. Tewari (1982) and the present scientific analysis, it may be inferred that earth pigments (minerals), for which the tribal peoples have many traditional uses, some dating back to prehistoric times, were used for rock paintings. Further, our study suggests the possibility of an exchange of ideas about the techniques of colour preparation between the people of India and those of Africa.

TABLE 1

d' Spacings in A'	*I/I_1*	*Identified Ingredients*
3.8176	S	?
3.6332	VVW	Hematite
3.0278	VVW	?
2.4880	VW	Hematite
2.4044	VW	Hematite
2.1784	VS	Hematite
1.9372	m	Triolite
1.8715	VVW	Calcite
1.7232	VS	Triolite
1.6367	W	Hematite
1.5863	S	Calcite
1.4935	S	Kaolinite
1.4517	mw	Hematite
1.4032	S	Quartz
1.3593	w	Hematite
1.3235	VW	Hematite
1.3131	mw	Hematite

1.2930	m	Hematite
1.2714	W	Hematite
1.2126	ms	Hematite
1.1913	VW	Hematite
1.1840	ms	Quartz
1.1416	mw	Hematite
1.1230	m	Hematite
1.1184	m	Triolite
1.1057	mw	Triolite
1.0817	VW	Hematite
1.0726	m	Hematite
1.0641	VW	Quartz
1.0398	m	Quartz
1.0321	m	Hematite
1.0027	W	Hematite
0.96619	m	Quartz
0.94778	VW	Hematite
0.94868	W	?
0.94022	W	?
0.93681	m	?
0.92233	W	Quartz
0.90803	S	Hematite
0.98082	VW	?
0.88638	VW	?
0.88268	VW	?
0.87844	VW	Pyrite
0.87008	VW	Pyrite
0.85861	W	Pyrite
0.85321	W	Pyrite
0.84583	W	?
0.83903	VW	?
0.82969	S	?
0.82685	W	Pyrite
0.81446	VW	Pyrite
0.80452	m	Pyrite
0.80116	W	Pyrite

Note: S=Strong; VS=Very Strong; ms=mildly strong; m=mild; W=Weak; VW=Very Weak.

TABLE 2

d' Spacing in A'	I/I_1	*Identified Ingredients*
3.8667	S	Illite
2.1859	VS	Hematite
1.9450	W	Illite
1.7277	VS	Griegite
1.6420	VW	Hematite
1.5913	S	Gibbsite
1.4964	S	Illite
1.4527	m	Gibbsite
1.4250	ms	Hematite
1.3619	VW	Gibbsite
1.3243	VW	Hematite
1.3147	VW	Illite

1.2960	VS	Hematite
1.2765	VW	Triolite
1.2158	W	Pyrite
1.1864	ms	Hematite
1.1251	m	Mackinawitite
1.1196	m	Hematite
1.1077	W	Hematite
1.0813	VW	Hematite
1.0767	VW	Hematite
1.0663	VW	Hematite
1.0414	m	Maekinawite
1.0329	m	?
1.0157	VW	Triolite
1.0049	S	Hematite
0.99833	VW	Quartz
0.98812	W	Pyrite
0.94927	ms	?
0.93261	W	Hematite
0.92286	m	Quartz
0.90754	VW	Pyrite
0.89700	W	?
0.87188	VW	Pyrite
0.85898	VS	Pyrite
0.85285	VW	Pyrite
0.84616	VW	?
0.84061	VW	?
0.83335	VS	?
0.83070	W	Pyrite
0.81494	VW	Pyrite

Note: S=Strong; VS=Very Strong; ms=mildly strong; m=mild; W=Weak; VW=Very Weak.

TABLE 3

d' Spacings in A'	I/I_1	*Identified Ingredients*
3.8420	S	Calcite
3.0071	VW	Calcite
2.1759	VS	Biotite
1.9411	VW	Illite
1.7323	S	Griegite
1.6340	W	Triolite
1.5839	S	Calicite
1.4925	VW	Triolite
1.4497	VW	Quartz
1.4013	S	Quartz
1.3636	W	Biotite
1.3131	S	Hematite
1.2937	VW	Hematite
1.2714	m	Hematite
1.1852	W	Quartz
1 1225	VW	Hematite
1.1194	mv	Hematite
1.1072	m	Triolite
1.0627	m	Quartz

1.0394	VW	Hematite
1.0317	VW	Quartz
1.0019	m	Griegite
0.99654	m	Triolite
0.98778	mw	Quartz
0.93936	vw	?
0.92312	mw	Quartz
0.90655	W	Hematite
0.89150	mw	?
0.85197	VW	?
0.84467	VW	?
0.83903	VW	Hematite
0.82812	W	?
0.81446	W	?

Note: S=Strong; VS=Very Strong; ms=mildly strong; m=mild; W=Weak; VW=Very Weak.

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6

THE LOCATION OF RĀMAGIRI

K.D. Bajpai

The problem of the location of Rāmagiri of Kālidāsa has been discussed for a long time past. Several localities have been identified with it. Professor V. V. Mirashi, followed by other scholars, has put forth the claim of Rāmṭek near Nagpur for its identification with Rāmagiri. Some scholars locate it in the Korāput district of Orissa. There are still others who have tried to put Rāmagiri elsewhere.

It may be pointed out here that Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and a good number of reputed sages are associated not with one but several localities in the country. Names like Prayāga, Mathurā, Citrakūṭa, and Rāmagiri were given to several localities in the country after the chief original place-names. This holds good in the cases of popular *janapadas*, rivers, lakes and mountains also. Such was the case with Rāmagiri as well.

The regional geography in the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa is chiefly concerned with the vast area of the present Madhya Pradesh. In the return journey of Rāma from Laṅkā to Ayodhyā, as described in the *Raghuvaṁsa* (canto XIII), a large area of Madhya Pradesh is covered. Kālidāsa takes unusual delight in describing the beauty of nature and the lively life of the people inhabiting the long stretch of land in this State from Rāmagiri in the east to Daśapura in the west (*Meghadūta* I, 14-47). Daśapura was the ancient name of Mandsaur in the extreme north-west of Madhya Pradesh.

As regards the location of Rāmagiri, it is more plausible to identify it with the hillock of Rāmagarh in the Surguja district of Madhya Pradesh than with any other site. The interal evidence, particularly from the *Meghadūta*, supports this identification. The hillock of Rāmagarh, with the panoramic beauty around, tallies with its enchanting description given by Kālidāsa in verses 1-4, 12 and 14 of the *Meghadūta*. In the very first verse of the poem the great poet eulogizes Sītā and Rāma.[1] It may be pointed out here that it was Kālidāsa who popularized the story of Rāma. It was from his time (early fifth century A.D.) that the cult images of Rāma began to be made. The scenes from the life of Rāma, particularly after his banishment, are found depicted on stone panels assignable to the Gupta and post-Gupta periods.

From Rāmagiri, Kālidāsa takes his cloud messenger to the north, then a little to the south-west and again to the north to reach Āmrakūṭa (Amarkantak in the Shahdol district of Madhya Pradesh). The cloud passes over the fertile lowland of the Māla region (north part of the Bilaspur District, Madhya Pradesh) before reaching the heights of Āmrakūṭa. In the region of Māla was situated the chief town of (south) Kośala, from where Kauśalyā, the mother of Rāma hailed. The hill of Āmrakūṭa and the river valley of Rewā (Narmadā) are described in no less than six verses (17 to 22). During its early course, the river is split up into several branches. This is described by the poet as 'spread on the uneven Vindhyan hill like the streaks on an elephant's body' (*Meghadūta* I, 19). It may be pointed out here that the cloud of Kālidāsa is never asked by the poet to cross the river Revā (Narmadā) to reach Daśārṇa. This fact also goes against the identification of Rāmagiri with Rāmṭek. In order to reach Dasārṇa from Rāmṭek, the river Revā has to be crossed.

The direction from Āmrakūṭa to the Daśārṇa *janapada* and to its capital Vidiśā is given almost straight to the west, and hence no change of direction is suggested by the poet for reaching that area.

From Vidiśa to Ujjain a diversion or *vakra pantha* (*Meghadūta*, I, 27) is suggested. After Ujjain to Alakā the route is to the north, and hence no diversion is hinted at.

A detailed study of the rock-shelters, inscriptions and sculptural remains at Rāmagarh was recently made by the author. Some of the rock-shelters (*ṣilāveśma* of Kālidāsa) at Rāmagarh were found to be natural and others man-made.

Below the main hillock of Ramgarh there is a long natural tunnel measuring about 137 meters (450 ft.) in length. This is one of the unusually large natural tunnels discovered so far in the country. Near one end of this tunnel is a natural water-flow terminating into a small reservoir called *Sītākuṇḍa*. According to J.D. Beglar there was a lake there, the waters of which eventually forced a passage through the spur by a long tunnel.[2]

The rock shelter, known as 'Sītā-Bengrā', represents a theatre (*Nāṭyaśālā*) as described by Bharata in his well-known work *Nātya Śāstra*. In the Sīta-Bengrā shelter an extensive plain platform exists. It is flanked by two side rooms, which served as green rooms of the modern concept. The ceiling and the floor of the platform have round holes to support the wooden poles for making partition arrangement and for curtains.

The steps below the platform were made in descending order to serve as seats for the audience who assembled to witness the dramatic performances.

The walls and ceilings of the *Naṭyaśālā* had some Brāhmī inscriptions which are now mutilated. One important stone sculpture, assignable to the eighth century A.D., represents Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa standing, holding bow and arrow in their hands. There are several other stone sculptures kept inside the shelter. From the point of view of art, the delineation of the images of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa is of a high order. The outer right side wall of the rock-shelter bears two ancient footprints, said to be those of Rāma.

The adjacent rock-shelter, known as Jogimārā, bears several Brāhmī inscriptions on the walls and ceiling. The most important inscription has been referred to by several scholars previously. It is written in bold Mauryan Brāhmī characters and refers to a *Devadāsī* (dancing girl) called Sutanukā. The name of her lover Devadatta is also mentioned in the inscription. Devadatta is called *Rūpadakṣa* (proficient in the dramatic arts).[3] The name of Devadāsī Sutanukā and her lover Devadatta are mentioned in several other inscriptions of the area.

These two important rock-shelters were painted beautifully. Some of the painted scenes are still preserved. Several of these were made during the Gupta period. These scenes show males and females in playful moods.

At the top of the site there is another artificial shelter called 'Lakṣmaṇa-Bengrā'. Its ceiling bears shining polish of *Vajralepa*.

This author also made a study of the remains of ancient township below the Ramgarh hills. The relics of brick-walls, pottery, molten iron-ore and a large number of ring walls were noticed at this extensive site. A silver punch-marked coin and more than three dozen cast copper coins were also discovered at the site. The coins are square and rectangular in shape and bear the symbols of tree-in-railing, moon-on-the-hill, *Indra-dhvaja* and elephant.

The period of the coins can be bracketted between second century B.C. and second century A.D. Beads of agate, carnalian, quartz and sapphire have also been discovered at this site. The area requires horizontal excavation in order to bring out the nature and periods of the habitation. The antiquities from the site are in the possession of several local persons. A little above the inscribed caves is the Ramgarh fort, where some stone sculptures of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods were noticed. On the occasion of *Rāma-navamī*, a big festival is held at the site in honour of Śrī Rāma.

Close to the Ramgarh site is the village Maheshpur on the bank of the river Ren (ancient Reṇukā). There several interesting sites of Śiva and Viṣṇu temples were found. The Śaiva temple-complex at this site is considerably large. The Vaiṣnavas and Jainas also established their centres there during the early medieval period. The site is full of architectural remains and sculptures made of red sandstone and the local laterite stone. Some of the important images were identified by this author.

A rare image of Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Ādinātha of eighth century A.D. was noticed at Maheshpur. The figure has on the head a *jaṭā mukuṭa* like the one noticed on Śiva images. The expression on the face of the deity is remarkable for its serenity. Other images represent Śiva, Viṣṇu, dancing Gaṇeśa, Hanumān, Narasiṁha, Sarasvatī, Gaṅgā and Yamunā. On one of the door-jambs is carved the image of a river-goddess with a female attendant holding a parasol. The body of the attendant in *tribhaṅga* is extremely charming. Very recently a Brāhmi inscription of the ninth century A.D. has been discovered at Maheshpur. It is on a rectangular stone slab and contains nine lines of writing in chaste Sanskrit verses. The inscription refers to the religious work performed by a king called Lakṣmaṇa of the Kalachvi dynasty of Tripurī. The names of king Lakṣmaṇa's father and grandfather, Ādityarāja and Yuvarāja respectively, are also mentioned in the record.

Previously some scholars, like K. B. Pathak, M. Venkataramayya and V. K. Paranjape, identified Rāmgarh with Rāmagiri of Kālidāsa. The present author has surveyed the area from Ramgarh in the Surguja district to the Tripurī-Bherāghāt region in Jabalpur district of Madhya Pradesh. He has also studied the sites of the Koraput area in Orissa and the ancient remains at Ramṭek near Nagpur. The chief reasons which go against the identification of Rāmagiri of Kālidāsa with Rāmagiri in Koraput or Ramṭek near Nagpur are briefly given below.

There are several sites known as Rāmagiri in Orissa, including the one in the Koraput district on the bank of the river Khonlāb (supposed to be the ancient Śabarī river). The existence of a Citrakūṭa (apart from the one in the Banda-Panna districts) in the Koraput district and that of Pañcavatī on the confluence of the river Godāvarī and Indrāvatī (ancient Mandākinī) can also not be doubted. But the site on the Khonlāb river does not indicate adequate archaeological potentiality to warrant its identification with Rāmagirī of Kālidāsa. At the same time, the internal evidence, as found in the *Meghadūta* giving the geography of land from Rāmagiri to Vidishā does not find support if we identify the above site with Rāmagiri of Kālidāsa.

As regards Ramṭek near Nagpur, there is no doubt that during the Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age it had become quite famous as a religious centre. The art relics discovered in and around Ramṭek bear eloquent testimony to the development of architecture and art of a high order during the Vākāṭaka Age. But the identification of Ramṭek with Rāmagiri does not seem to be possible due to the following reasons:

(*i*) Recent discoveries have brought to light several temples of the fifth-sixth centuries A.D. at Ramṭek, including the temples of Narasiṁha and Śiva. An important stone Brāhmī-inscription written in the nail-headed characters of the fifth century A.D., has also been noticed attached to a wall. The inscription is badly mutilated. It has fifteen lines of writing. It refers to a deity called *Prabhāvati Svāmī*. The Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatīguptā seems to have got this temple constructed at the religious centre of Ramṭek along with a beautiful pond (*Sudarśana taḍāga* of the inscription). Names of Candragupta and Ghaṭotkaca have also been deciphered in the inscription. The temple was probably of Viṣṇu. This new evidence is indeed very welcome. In the inscription there is no mention of Rāmagiri, nor is there any other clue to identify it with that place mentioned in the *Meghadūta*.

(*ii*) The description of Rāmagiri as found in the above work of Kālidāsa does not tally with Rāmṭek. The area to the north of Rāmṭek is quite different from the one described by the poet.

(*iii*) The identification of Māla and Āmrakūṭa with Māleya and Amarvādā, respectively, as proposed by Dr. Mirashi, is not convincing. The so-called Māleya (or Mālabhūmi) of the Chhindwara district is not a fertile land. Amarvādā is a small town and there is no high peak of mountain close to it.

(*iv*) Dr. Mirashi thinks that the cloud-messenger, after leaving Ramṭek, passed through the Chhindwara and Narasingpur districts of Madhya Pradesh and then crossed the river Narmadā to reach Daśārṇa country. The description in the *Meghadūta* is quite contrary to this in regard not only to the flora and fauna, but also to the human habitation given in the work. Some enchanting spots like Pachmarhī and the thick forest areas of the two districts could not have escaped the keen observation of the poet. But this extensive region of dense forest has been described by the poet. The cloud was required to take water on the way occasionally from the rivers, as is borne out from the description in the *Meghadūta*. In the area of the Chhindwara and Narasingpur districts, on the route proposed by

Dr. Mirashi, there is no river worth mentioning. The small rivulets on the way also do not find any mention in that way.

(*v*) The cloud of Kālidāsa is not made to cross the river Revā (Narmadā). In the route suggested by Dr. Mirashi the river has to be crossed at some point in the Narasingpur district for reaching Vidisha. In the *Meghadūta*, the cloud messenger is clearly told that after leaving the area of Āmrakūṭa (Amarkantak in the Shahdol district) it will follow the early course of the river for quite some time. An enchanting description of this region is given by the poet, as already indicated.

(*vi*) Had the forest area of the Chhindwara-Narasingpur districts been familiar to the poet, he would have mentioned at least its lower part in his other work, the *Raghuvaṁśa*. In canto *XIII* of that work Kālidāsa describes the backward journey of Rāma from Laṅkā to Ayodhyā. He would have certainly mentioned Rāmagiri (if it was Ramṭek), where Rāma had stayed with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa. No such description is, however, noticed in that work, whereas the *āśramas* of several Rishis, the Pañcavaṭī and the river Mandakinī (present Indrāvati of Bastar) are mentioned by the poet.

(*vii*) In Ramṭek there are no ancient rock-shelters, natural or man-made, as we find at Ramgarh in the Surguja district.

Notes and References

1. कश्चित्कान्ता-विरह गुरुणा स्वाधिकारप्रभत्तः,
   शापेनास्तंगमितमहिमा वर्षभाग्येन भर्तुः ।
   यक्षश्चक्रे जनकतनयास्नान्-पुण्योदकेषु,
   स्निग्धच्छायातरुषु वसतिं रामगिर्याश्रमेषु ॥
   Meghadūta; I, 1.
2. A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. XIII, p. 41.
3. My reading of the chief Prākrit inscription is as follows:
   शुतनुकनम देवदसि तां कमयिथ
   बलनसिये शिरि देवदिनो नाम लुपदखो

7

LEXICOGRAPHICAL GLEANINGS FROM THE SANSKRIT EPIGRAPHY OF CAMBODIA

Kamaleswar Bhattacharya

The great scholar to whose memory this volume is dedicated was one of the few epigraphists in the Indian field, who have devoted attention to lexicography. Louis Renou, reviewing his *Indian Epigraphy*,[1] wrote :

> *"Non moins instructif est le chapitre 8, méme s'il doit étre considéré comme un simple point de départ : il s'agit de définir les expressions techniques usitées en épigraphe: abréviations, titulaire, épithétes, royales, noms de fonctionnaires, de divisions administratives, noms de taxes et de mesures, etc. Ce qui est dit ici fait impatiemment désirer l'Indian Epigraphical Glossary dont M.S. annonce la prochaine publication.*[2] *Tout le vocabulaire épigraphique est d'ailleurs á dépouiller et parfois à réévaluer . . . Avec les ouvrages précédemment cités, avec l'édition augmentée qu'il faut souhaiter rapidement pour le présent manuel, on disposera désormais dans l'indianisme, grâce à la diligence de M.S., d'une somme comparable à ce que les études gréco-romaines possédent depuis longtemps."*

In this humble tribute, I want to study some interesting elements—or what appear to me to be so—of the vocabulary of the Sanskrit inscriptions from Cambodia, as a new supplement to what was published more than twenty years ago.[3] The idea was to record and to study those words and meanings which are not at all attested, or are only rarely attested, in India. This is, of course, an evaluation which should be regarded as merely tentative; for it is based upon the existing dictionaries, which are not exhaustive. In fact, the recent publication of the first six fascicules of the *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles*, Poona (1977-1981), has made it necessary to eliminate from my vocabulary some words and to give a new appraisement of others. To the latter class belongs, e.g., the word *atandra*, "indefatigable".[4] It appeared to be attested, in India, only in the old Vedic literature (*Ṛgveda*, *Atharvaveda*), and to have given place, in classical Sanskrit, to *atandrita* or *atandrin*; but it is now known to have been used, rather frequently, in classical Sanskrit as well.[5] It is impossible to predict, at this stage, what will be found to be 'new or rare' in the vocabulary of the Sanskrit inscriptions from Cambodia when this long-awaited Thesaurus will be completed.

To begin with, I shall consider what may be regarded as *learned words*. These words which, according to the existing Sanskrit dictionaries, are rarely used, or are not used at all, in literature, may have been borrowed from Pāṇini's Grammar. They—and not they alone[6]—testify to the presence in distant Cambodia of a Sanskrit culture of a high standard. Thus, in a pre-Angkorean inscription occurs the word *śrāyasī* : *śrāyasīṃ gatim uddiśya*.[7] *Śrāyasa*, of which this word is the feminine, is taught by Pāṇini, VII, 3, 1.[8] Used as a patronymic in Vedic, it has been so far noted as an adjective in literature only in Somadeva's *Yaśastilaka*,[9] which is much later than the inscription in question. There is, however, a citation in Puruṣottamadeva's *Bhāṣāvṛtti* on Pāṇini's Sūtra mentioned above: *sa śrāyasena pramadena yuktaḥ*. Another pre-Angkorean inscription (668 A.D.)[10] uses the word *aidamyugīna*, "good for this age", which is derived from *idamyuga*, enumerated in the *gaṇa pratijanādi*, Pāṇini, IV, 4, 99. In literature, it has not been met with so far elsewhere than in Śaṅkara's commentaries.[11] The word *śambha*, taught by Pāṇini, V, 2, 138, is not known to have been even used in literature in India; however, it is found in a Cambodian inscription.[12]

Here we should also record, perhaps, the word *abhidhi*, "name", which, considered by A. Barth as a "barbarism", is actually formed in accordance with Pāṇini, III, 3, 92.[13]

But there is the superlative of *yaśasvin*, "glorious": *yaśiṣṭha*,[14] twice used in a poetical inscription whose author shows his fondness for superlatives and gives evidence, moreover, of his familiarity with the grammatical literature.[15] It seems that this superlative—not recorded in the existing dictionaries—was formed after *payiṣṭha*, superlative of *payasvin*, which Patañjali gives in his *Mahābhāṣya*.[16]

Finally, *kalaṅka* which in a late inscription is used as an adjective, beside *kalaṅka*, substantive,[17] is perhaps a derivative, according to Pāṇini, V, 2, 127.[18]

The *kāvya*-vocabulary of these inscriptions is quite rich.[19] I have nothing very striking to show, besides what I have already recorded in my earlier work with its two supplements.[20] Attention may be drawn, however, to one curious point. The word *mahīna*, for "king" ("lord of the earth"), is given in the existing dictionaries as a word occurring in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa*. This is an error.[21] But what is thus lost is compensated for by a Cambodian inscription which uses the word, beside *puṣkarena*, "sun" ("lord of the lotus").[22] *Avanīna* in the same sense, occurs, however, in the *Yaśastilaka*.[23]

An interesting work is the name of the *tithi* : *pūrṇami*, which, in place of the usual *pūrṇimā*, occurs not only in the Buddhist epigraphy in Sanskrit of the reign of Jayavarman VII but also, throughout, in the Khmer inscriptions. It is also found, together with *pūrṇamā* (known so far only in Buddhist Sanskrit; Pali *puṇṇamā*) and *paurṇamāsī* in a Śaiva text (known in Cambodia)[24], the *Śivadharma*. I have nothing to add to the explanation I gave of this word.[25] I should like to indicate, however, that Aggavaṃsa, in his Pāli grammar, the *Saddanīti*, gives *puṇṇamī* beside *puṇṇamā*.[26] Aggavaṃsa explains the words as *bahuvrīhi* compounds : *puṇṇo mo* [=*cando*] *etthā 'ti puṇṇamī*, *evaṃ puṇṇamā* . . . As the editor of the *Saddanīti*, H. Smith, pointed out, Aggavaṃsa bases his interpretation of *ma*=*canda* on Puruṣottamadeva's *Ekākṣarakośa*: *maḥ śivaś candramā vedhāḥ*. There is also the word *paurṇamī*, given by Puruṣottamadeva in his *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*. This can be explained by considering it, either as a *svārthika* derivative of the *bahuvrīhi pūrṇami*, or as the feminine of *pūrṇama*, derived from the *karmadhāraya pūrṇama*.[27]

The *abbreviation of compounds* by which one of the members of a compound is given the meaning of the entire compound—a phenomenon of which there are quite a number of instances in Cambodian epigraphy (both Sanskrit and Khmer)[28]—has been studied in detail by Professor J. Gonda.[29] There is one word, occurring in a Sanskrit inscription from Cambodia, which may be elucidated a little further : *nayana*, "sun".[30] It appears to be an abbreviation of *jagannayana*. Now, *jagaccakṣus*, as an epithet of the sun, already occurs in Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*,[31] and is later found in Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*.[32] *Jagannetra*, on the other hand, appears frequently as an epithet of the moon.[33] The *Kalpadrukośa* gives it as an epithet of the sun,[34] and Daṇḍin, in his *Kāvyādarśa*, uses it as an epithet of both the sun and the moon.[35]

But there is another phenomenon, which was studied by J. Wackernagel, and of which Cambodian epigraphy furnishes two interesting examples : the *use of final members of compounds as independent words*.[36] In a Sanskrit inscripition is found the word *ṇibha* : *pareṣām vittadāreṣu yasya ṇibho nirāspadaḥ*.[37] G. Coedès considers this word as Sanskrit *nibha*, meaning "resemblant, image". He also points out that the word occurs, at about the same period (7th century), the same spelling (it is a Prakritism; cf. following para), in a Khmer inscription.[38] It is indeed a singular use of a word which should be employed only as final member of compounds.[39] It may be compared with the use in Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit[40] of the word *nibhā* in the sense of "appearance, sheen". Evidently, in the latter case, the *tatpuruṣa* compounds having as their final member °*nibha* (feminine-ā) were incorrectly interpreted as *bahuvrīhis*, and the word *nibhā* was extracted from them by analogy with *ābhā*, *prabhā*/*pabhā*, *vibhā*.[41] Let us note also that the *Śabdaratnāvalī*[42] gives *nibha*=*prakāśa*. The other word is *vidha*, "sort, form" which occurs in a Sanskrit inscription : *somasya vidhaḥ*.[43] Obviously, this word was drawn from *bahuvrīhi* compounds having as their final member °*vidha* (from *vidhā*), compounds which were incorrectly interpreted as *tatpuruṣas*. There is a similar use of *vidha* in Pāli : *sabbe mānavidhā* (*Theragāthā*, 428).[44] But let us note also that Rabhasa and Ajaya, quoted by Bharata on the *Amarakośa*, give *vidha* in the meaning of *vidhā*.[45]

The use of *Prakrit words* in the Sanskrit and Khmer epigraphy of Cambodia is no surprise.[46] A mention may be made here of the word *samkha*, "battle", which appears constantly in the Sanskrit inscriptions.[47] The existing Sanskrit dictionaries do not give it; however, Devarājyajvan reads it in the *Naighaṇṭuka*.[48] And it occurs, in place of *samkhya*, in manuscripts of such texts as the *Mahābhārata* and the *Jānakīharaṇa*.[49] *Samkhya* is generally used in the locative.[50] So is the case with *samkha* also, in Cambodian epigraphy.[51]

Finally, some more interesting Prākrit (rather, hybrid) forms in Khmer inscriptions, belonging to the seventh and eighth centuries : *traitrīśa*° (=*trayastrimśat*°),[52] *aṣṭacattālīśa*° (=*aṣṭacatvārimśat*°), *vācatvālimśa*° (=*dvācatvārimśat*°) *ekūnavimṣa*° (*ekonavimśati*°),*vāvimśa*° (=*dvāvimśati*°).[53] For *trai*° (=*traya* [*s*]°), cf. the archaic Prākrit form *traidasa* (=*trayodaśa*), Aśoka, Girnar.[54]

Notes and References

*Abbreviations : *BEFEO*=*Bulletin de l'Ecole francaise d'Extreme-Orient*; BR=O. Bohtlingk & R. Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, Petersburg, 1855-75; *IC*=G. Coedes, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, I-VIII, Hanoi-Paris, 1937-66; *ISCC*=A. Barth & A. Bergaigne, *Inscriptions sanscrites de Campā et du Cambodge*, Paris, 1885-93; pw=O. Bohtlingk, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kurzerer Fassung*, Petersburg, 1879-89; Schmidt, *Nachträge*=R. Schmidt, *Nachträge zum Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in Kurzerer Fassungvon Otto Böhtlingk*, Leipzig, 1928.

1. *Journal Asiatique*, 1965, pp. 156-158.
2. Published the following year.
3. *BEFEO*, LII (1964), pp. 1-70—Supplements : *BEFEO*, LIII (1966), pp. 273-277; LV (1969), pp. 145-151.
4. *BEFEO*, LII, p. 27, No. 12.
5. See also *BEFEO*, LII, p. 65; LV, p. 146.
6. See *Amṛtadhārā : Professor R.N. Dandekar Felicitation Volume*, edited by S.D. Joshi, Delhi, 1984, pp. 479ff.
7. *IC*, I, p. 4, v. V.
8. *śreyasi bhavaṃ śrāyasam : Kāśikāvṛtti* (*Candravṛtti*, VI, 1, 12)—cf. J. Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften*, I (Gottingen, 1953), pp. 504-505.
9. Schmidt, *Nachträge*.
10. *ISCC*, XI, 15.
11. pw refers to the *Chāndogyopaniṣad-bhāṣya*. See also *Bṛhadārṇyakopaniṣad-bhāṣya*, I, 4, 10 : *Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series*, Poona, 1891, p. 156.
12. *BEFEO*, LII, p. 60, No. 271.
13. *ibid.*, p. 30, No. 24. cf. *BEFEO*, LV, p. 151. See also *R.N. Dandekar Felicitation Volume*, pp. 478-479 - (J. Wackernagel-) A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2, (Gottingen, 1954), p. 290.
14. *IC*, IV, p. 91, v. XIX; p. 92, v. XXXIII.
15. See *R.N. Dandekar Felicitation Volume*, pp. 482ff.
16. On *Vārttika* 2 on Pāṇini, VI, 4, 163 (Kielhorn's edition, Vol. III, p. 233.5)—cf. (Wackernagel-)Debrunner, *op. cit.*, pp. 453, and 273ff.
17. *BEFEO*, LII, p. 37, No. 98.
18. cf. (Wackernagel-) Debrunner, *op. cit.*, p. 137, and 4ld. (The gaṇa, *arśa-ādi* is an *ākṛtigaṇa.—yatrābhinnena śabdena tadvato 'bhidhānaṁ tat sarvam iha draṣṭavyam : Candravṛtti*, IV, 2, 147; *Kāśikavṛtti* on Pāṇini, V, 2, 127.)
19. See *BEFEO*, LII, pp. 19ff.
20. See no. 3 above.
21. See *BEFEO*, LV (1969), p. 151.
22. *ibid.*
23. Schmidt, *Nāchträge*.
24. See *BEFEO*, LII, p, 65, n.
25. *ibid* , p. 67.
26. *Saddanīti*, edited by H. Smith, Lund, I (1928), p. 243.
27. cf. the explanations of *paurṇamāsī* : *Kāśikāvṛtti* on Pāṇini, IV, 2. 21, and Jinendrabuddhi's *Nyāsa* and Haradatta's *Padamañjarī* thereon (*Candravṛtṭi*, III, 1, 18); Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, *Śabhakaustubha* on Pāṇini, IV, 2, 21; Bhānujj Dīkṣita on *Amarakośa*, I, 4, 7; *Vārttika* on Pāṇini, IV, 2, 35.
28. See *BEFEO*, LII, p. 18.
29. "Abbreviated and inverted Nominal Compounds in Sanskrit", in *Pratidānam* (F.B.J. Kuiper Felicitation Volume), The Hague/Paris : Mouton, 1968, pp. 221-246—Patañjali mentions this principle : *Mahābhāṣya* (Kielhorn's edition), I, p. 6.24-25; III.22-24. In Pali, Dhammapāla (*Udānaṭṭhakathā*, p. 76 : Pali Text Society's edition) indicates : *udaka=udakummujjana*; *rūpa=rupabhava*.
30. *BEFEO*, LII, p. 49, No. 170. cf. 7. Gonda, *loc. cit.*, p. 231.
31. VI, 1, in E.H. Johnston's edition.
32. BR, 5.1434.
33. See BR, *loc. cit.* (*Kathāsaritsāgara*); *Bṛhatkathāślokāsaṃgraha*, XVII, 28 (L. Renou, "Remarkable Words

[and Meanings] from the Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha", *Vāk*, 4 [1954], p. 97); *Jānakīharaṇa* (Godakumbura's edition, 1969), X, 48.

34. See *BEFEO*, LIII (1966), p. 275.
35. BR, *loc. cit*. See also *BEFEO*, LV, p. 150.
36. J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 1 (Gottingen, 1957 [reprint]), p. 35.
37. *IC*, IV, p. 7, v. VII.
38. *IC*, II, p. 70.18; cf. p. 72, no. 2; IC, IV, p. 7, no. 2.
39. . . . *syur uttarapade tv amī/nibha-saṃkāśa-nīkāśa-pratīkāśopamādayah//Amarakośa*, II, 10, 37 (Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press edition, with the commentary *Vyākhyā-sudhā* of Bhānuji Dīkṣita, 6th edition, 1944).
40. See Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary*; F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, New Haven : Yale University Press, 1953.
41. cf. *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa* (Tiwari and Sharma's edition, Varanasi : Tara Publications, 1962), 641; *Saddanīti* (H. Smith's edition), III (1930), p. 864, and 1266.
42. Quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma* (see also (BR).
43. *IC*, IV, p. 86, v. XLIV.
44. cf. Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary*, p. 622b.
45. *Śabdakalpadruma*, quoted in BR, s.v. *vidha*.
46. See *BEFEO*, LII, pp. 6ff.
47. *ibid*., p. 62, No. 287.
48. II, 17 (*Bibliotheca Indica* edition).
49. *Mahābhārata* (Critical Edition, Poona), III, 245, 16; XIV, 15, 14; VI, 23 (*Bhagavadgītā*, I), 47; *Jānakīharaṇa*, XVIII, 17.38 (in *Jānakīharaṇa of Kumāradāsa : A Study, Critical Text and English Translation of Cantos XVI-XX*, by C.R. Swaminathan; edited by V. Raghvan, Delhi : Motilal Banarsidass, 1977.
50. See, in addition to BR and pw, Schmidt, *Nachträge*; Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (new edition, 1957-59); and Viśvabandhu Śāstrī's *Vaidika-padānukrama-koṣa*, IV, 4.
51. In composition *IC*, V, p. 252, vv. XXX and XXXI. Similarly, e.g., in *Naiṣadha;* see K.K. Handiqui's Note, p. 637 in his *Naiṣadhacarita of Śrīharṣa*, Poona, 3rd edition, 1965—*Jānakīharaṇa*, XVIII, 38 (cf. no. 49 above) has : *saṃkhye saṃkhyam . . . vidhatsva*.
52. cf. also, in a Khmer inscription of the 11th century, *traiviṃśati* (= *trayoviṃśati*) : *IC*, VII, p. 66.
53. *IC*, II, pp. 21, 146; V, p. 18; VI, pp. 18, 24.
54. See J. Bloch, *L'indo-aryen du Veda aux temps modernes*, Paris, 1934, p. 36.

8

THE STONE AGE MAN IN AND AROUND PUNE (POONA)
OR
THE HABITATION OF EARLY MAN IN SAT-CHIT-ANANDA

H. D. Sankalia

This paper has been advisedly given a double or alternate title. For it describes the various stages by which evidence was found for the existence of Early Man at Pune during the last thirty years, and how ultimately it was proved by an excavation that the Early Man stayed exactly where the writer has built his house, called 'sat-chit-ananda', in 1963.

Until 1961 it was never suspected that men of the Stone Age had ever lived in or around Pune. Hence there is no mention of it in the *Gazetteer of Poona* or other books on ancient history. However, when I found extensive remains of the Early Stone Age and later Ages in Gujarat, Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh, it was felt that a definite attempt should be made at Pune. Initial discoveries around Dattawadi were not very promising, though here there are thick sections of gravel and red silt.

A second search was made near the Bund Garden in 1957 and 1962, and this fortunately proved more successful. Here highly patinated greenish flakes of trap were found in the cemented gravel overlying the basal rock. This gravel was covered by a fairly thick deposit of reddish clay. The latter in its turn was capped by yellow silt, and the sub-recent black soil.[1] This evidence, though welcome, created a problem, because the tools, though extremely well made, were not like the usual or 'classical' ones, such as handaxes, cleavers and scrapers.

Later an extensive survey of the Mula-Mutha by Dr. S.N. Rajguru also did not yield such tools. However, his further study showed that these tools belonged to the Second Stone Age or the Middle Palaeolithic Period, as the three found by me near the Bund Garden.[2] The absence of the Early Palaeolithic was accounted for by the absence of suitable raw materials, such as river pebbles of trap and quartzite.

The discovery of the Early Palaeolithic and that too in the writer's residence was in a sense accidental as described in general articles.[3] Two years ago while watering the garden I found a few tools like scrapers and choppers. These were of dolarite. Naturally the inference was that there should be a dyke near or under my residence. Hence I planned to have a small excavation near my entrance, which is to the west, south-west, (towards the Mula-Mutha river—see Map, Fig. I.)

I came to know that there was a dyke near or under the extensive campus of the Deccan College, when in 1961, the Panshet Dam broke and there was a sudden shortage of water. We had to provide water to the residents of the campus. So I consulted a water diviner and a geologist with a view to digging a well. Both of them advised me against this project because, they said, owing to the existence of the dyke, there would be little underground water.

But then a very fortunate circumstance revealed the dyke. While doing *Surya Namaskara*, standing on the steps of my northern entrance on 5 September 1983, I noticed a man just outside my compound, by the side of the huge banyan tree collecting stones, and then digging near the fence of my garden. This was risky, since it might or would endanger our fence. Hence, I went out and stopped him.

But I was surprised to find that this little digging had exposed the dyke! This raised my curiosity and when I again examined the exposed portion at noon, I noticed that to the right of the dyke there was a deposit of red clay. This red clay could be the river deposit, as found by me (1961-62) to the south of the Bund Garden. If so, as elsewhere in India, the red clay would or should be quite old. And old it was! For in it, I noticed a handaxe-like tool, which after careful extraction turned out to be an Acheulian handaxe. Very careful scraping yielded two early—Abbevillian—handaxes, and round pebbles (See Photo II).

I was, thus, convinced that the red clay was deposited by the river. And in order to prove it, I requested our technical staff (soil chemists) to examine the red clay in the laboratory, and compare the results with that given by Dr. Rajguru from near the Bund Garden.

For some reason, this did not materialize. Meanwhile I continued to find handaxes, cleavers and other tools in the eastern side of my compound. Careful excavation might yield more interesting evidence, perhaps the skeletal remains of man (though as at Langhnaj, Gujarat, not a single bone even of an animal had been found so far). With the permission and financial assistance from the Archaeological Survey of India and the Deccan College, a modest excavation was done.

Excavation

Before starting the excavation, the section exposed outside my fence on the north by the side of the banyan tree was carefully cleaned and photographed. Then the core inside the compound. Unfortunately all these photographs were spoiled while transferring the film from one camera to the other.

Since the object of the excavation was to determine southern extension of the dyke within my residence, its nature, and to note the existence of any tools in stratified deposits and the nature of these strata, trenches were dug behind the fence. This at once exposed the dyke. As outside it was highly weathered and patinated, so after exposing about two metres in length and depth, its further exposure was stopped.

Two trenches were dug immediately to its east. These were about two metres deep and as expected showed the yellow-red silt at the base. But surprisingly the top—nearly a metre—contained black soil. Interestingly this included a few pieces of bones and fragments of glass bottle. Evidently the latter two might have been thrown there by the resident who had built a house during 1941-44, near the eastern corner of the present compound of my residence.

The fourth trench was dug at the extreme eastern end of the compound. Here there was a thick deposit of black soil, but at the very bottom was revealed the yellow-red silt. The fifth trench was dug on the eastern side, only a metre away from my residence. Here the rock base was immediately below a thin deposit of yellowish soil.

This small but careful stratigraphical excavation has fully confirmed my view on the following lines:

(a) The Early Man could have lived only where our house 'sat-chit-ananda' has been built. Here was found the huge core in 1963.

(b) The Mula-Mutha river at that time flowed at a very high level (a level reached by it when on 12th July 1961, it overflowed its banks when the Panshet Dam broke owing to unusually heavy rains in Poona). At that time it had not only covered the present compound of the house, but also the rock on the opposite side across the 15 metre(50 ft.) wide road. Over the rock one can see a layer of reddish silt—about 60 cm. in thickness. When the rock was fully exposed by recent digging, a large and heavy pebble butted handaxe was found at the junction of the clay and the rock on 9 June, 1985. This is of trap like the five trap tools found near the banyan tree on 5 September, 1983. A further conclusion would be that at that time, the river was a mightier stream so that it could break the basal rock, and carry the pebbles to such a high level. We have now to look again, for such a pebble-bed upstream.

(c) The dyke had not weathered at that time, because the core which was apparently made of it does not show such weathering.

So far no bones or other remains have been found; therefore we can have no idea of how actually the man maintained himself. There is little stratigraphical evidence of the Early Man's successor in my compound. But in the strata exposed to the east of the Bund Garden, I had found three tools. These are of trap and chalcedonic material but not of dolerite. All these represent the Middle Palaeolithic period.

Slight but interesting evidence of the late stage of the Middle Palaeolithic was found in the cliff of yellowish silt preserved until recently in the north-east of the Deccan College, just at the foot of the Parnakuti. Here the remains of the fossilized egg of an ostrich bearing some incised decoration was found by Dr. Z.D. Ansari, some years ago. Unfortunately this place cannot be traced now, but exactly similar egg-shells, also bearing some incised decoration were found by Dr. S.A. Sali in his excavation at Patne, district Jalgaon and Dr. V.S. Vakankar at Bhopal and other sites in Madhya Pradesh, The C. 14 date for this is about 40,000 B.C. All these provide excellent evidence of the extremely dry climate that prevailed some 40,000 years, when these huge birds now found only in Africa lived in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh.

So far no typically Microlithic or Mesolithic sites have been found around Pune. These do exist further eastwards on the Bhima near Koregaon. Here is also a small Chalcolithic habitation mound, as at Inamgaon on the Ghod river. This is in brief what we know today of Pune and its surroundings during the Stone Age. As far as the Deccan College area is concerned, only the Early Stone Age Man lived here.

The Tools

Though the entire compound of 'sat-chit-ananda', particularly the eastern and north-eastern side is littered with tools or tool-like pieces, the present collection (that is, the collection described here) contains (i) tools from the excavation or found *in situ* in the reddish silt on 5 September 1983, (ii) tools found in the recent excavation, and (iii) tools collected from the surface.

General Condition

1. Many of the tools from both the excavations have olive green surface, as they lay in the yellowish-red river silt.
2. Some tools from the surface, particularly those made of dolerite have yellowish red patination, but those made on trap or trap-like material have retained their original greyish surface.
3. However, both these types of tools have retained their sharpness, the edges, as well the point, and flake marks.
4. One peculiarity noticed is that very few tools, particularly the flakes show the bulb of percussion.
5. The huge core has a greyish surface, though during the last three months (February-May), the deep flake scars have begun to look brownish, whereas the dyke as exposed in the excavation has an orange-red surface.

Typologically there are (i) Handaxes, (ii) Cleavers, (iii) Choppers, (iv) Borers with a sharp or dull thin or thick point, (v) Knife-like long or short one-edged tools (vi) Cores and (vii) Pebbles.

Only the most important are fully described and illustrated (those found on 5 September, 1983 photographically also).

Handaxes

(1) Roughly triangular, with a broad point made by two long flake scars on the upper surface, two flake scars on the undersurface, and two small ones at the point. (*Acheulian, found in situ red soil by the side of the dyke on 5 September, 1983*)

(2) Broadly triangular, with a rounded pebble surface back, and a point, made by two deep flake

scars on the upper surface, a large one on the side, and a similar one on the underside (*Abbevillian, found in situ, red soil, as No. 1*).

(3) Chopper on flattish, roundish pebble, with a thick edge, along the longer side, and the opposite has a roundish handhold, natural surface (*Found in situ red soil, as Nos. 1 and 2*).

(4) Chopper on a thicker pebble as No. 3.

(5) Ovalish flake with a bulb on the underside, and a deep scar on one longer side (*Found in situ as Nos. 1-3*).

(6) A long, knife-like tool, with a fairly sharp edge, along the longer side, while the opposite is thick and rounded. A good example of knife-like tool (*Found in situ red soil, as Nos. 1-5*).

(7) Thick, triangular, handaxe-like sharp point slightly broken (*Tr. II. 7.2.85, found from the excavation*).

(8) Small flake with a bulbar flake scar on the undersurface (*Tr. IV, found from the excavation*).

Scraper

Thick, rectangular scraper, large, sloping underside meets comparatively smaller sloping upperside, to give a broad, large edge.

Chopper

Thick, elongated chopper with a pebble surface-like back, and sharp edge, along the longer side by steep flaking on both the sides.

Huge Core

Huge core, about 35 cm. all round, with deep flake scars on all the four surfaces. As mentioned earlier, it was found in 1963, while digging the foundation of 'sat-chit-ananda' in a squarish pit, by Mrs. Sankalia. She got it removed and placed it near its present position.

When I first wrote about the core on the 29 March, the core did not appear patinated. But now after two months owing to the intense heat, the flake scars appear brownish.

Exactly similar cores have been found by Dr. V.N. Misra from his excavation in the Bhimbetka cave, near Bhopal. These have been illustrated whereas the four sides of our core have been drawn by S.K. Kulkarni.

The Stone Tools and Their Probable Function

Since the discovery of the stone tools, during the last 150 years, their functions—the actual use—has been inferred by comparing them with the tools, we use today. Then, of late, during the last ten years the wear and tear on the edges of tools began to be studied microscopically, and at times by using the tools, and some more definite inferences made regarding the exact function of the tools of the Stone Age.

Since we have found the tools in a content, which suggests definite habitation, we might make a few suggestions about the life of the man who lived here.

Among the handaxes, two have a thick, dull point—the first one slightly sharper point. One of these is also quite small, though otherwise similar to the bigger one. These suggest some definite but varied functions.

The choppers and scrapers could have been used for light and heavy duty work, and those with an indentation on the edge, for smoothing the surfaces of roundish stick-like objects.

The few points and handaxes with a screw driver point could have been used for some definite functions.

How exactly were the tools removed from the dyke, or the huge core? As on a river site, no suitable pebbles which could have served hammer stones have been found.

Amongst the borers, the one found on 27 April 1985, indicates that a tool like this could have been useful for boring a hole in a thick substance or object. What could this be? Flesh, bone or wood (but not certainly stone).

In spite of its one surface being quite uneven, it gives a hand-hold. Hence its sides as well as the point are carefully worked.

Conclusion

When we compare the tools found in the cemented gravel of the Mula-Mutha, near the Bund Garden, and those found from the 'sat-chit-ananda' we reach an important conclusion that the tools in the 'sat-chit-ananda' belong to an earlier phase and those at the Bund Garden to a later phase of the Early Stone Age.

The dyke was not available to the man of this later phase, as it was probably submerged. The river has shifted to its present position. Hence the man was forced to use the small pebbles of trap, found in 1957 and 1962. These consist of cores, flakes and chopping tools. But all these are very small, and one wonders what man could do with these, except cutting or scraping small animals and plants.

Again how did he remove such regular flakes from the flattish jasper core? He must have had a sharp chisel-like stone tool for such purposes.

At present, the tools from the Bund Garden site, are found in the lowest or earliest cemented gravel, though placed in the Middle Stone Age. That this dating was correct has been proved by the discovery in the 'sat-chit-ananda'.

Though all over India, particularly in Maharashtra, Andhra, Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh, such ideal conditions for understanding the way of life between the Early and Middle Stone Age Men might not be available, still these Poona sites provide a clue. Sites further away from the present river beds might exist elsewhere also.

Notes and References

1. For a full account see 'Early Stone Age' in *Studies in Prehistory*, R. B. Foote Memorial Volume, Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1966.
2. See Fig.
3. *Explorer's Journal*, March 1985.

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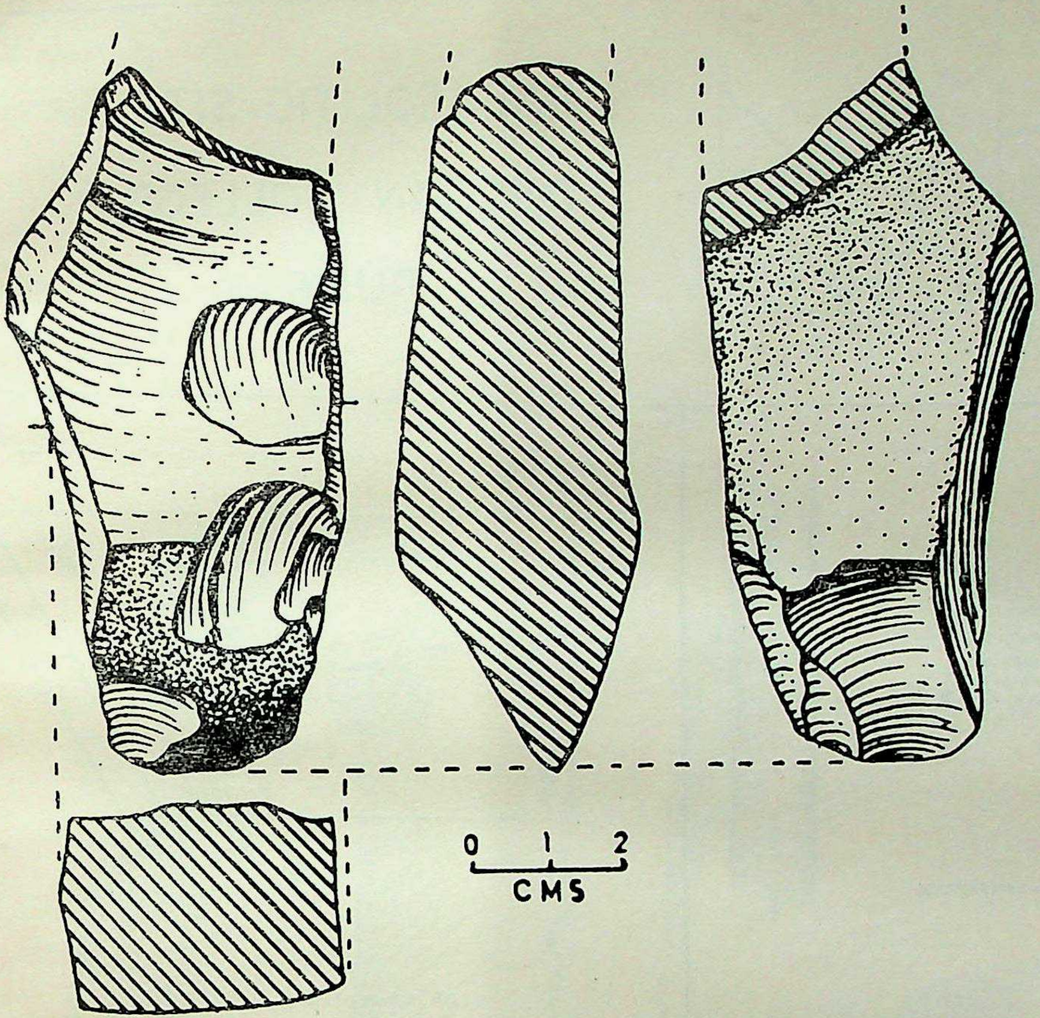

Fig. 3

RECONSTRUCTED COMPOSITE SECTION IN THE MULA- MUTHA VALLEY

(HORIZONTAL DISTANCE - NOT TO THE SCALE)

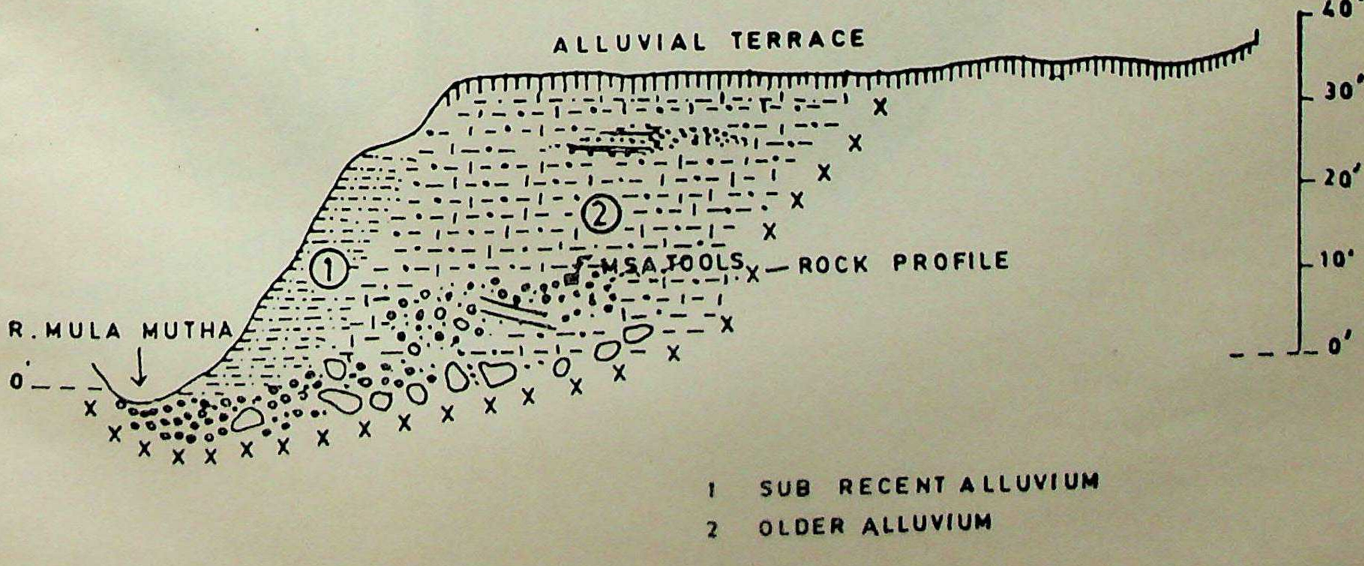
ALLUVIAL TERRACE
40'
30'
20'
10'
0'
②
①
MSA TOOLS
ROCK PROFILE
R. MULA MUTHA
0'
1 SUB RECENT ALLUVIUM
2 OLDER ALLUVIUM

Fig. 1

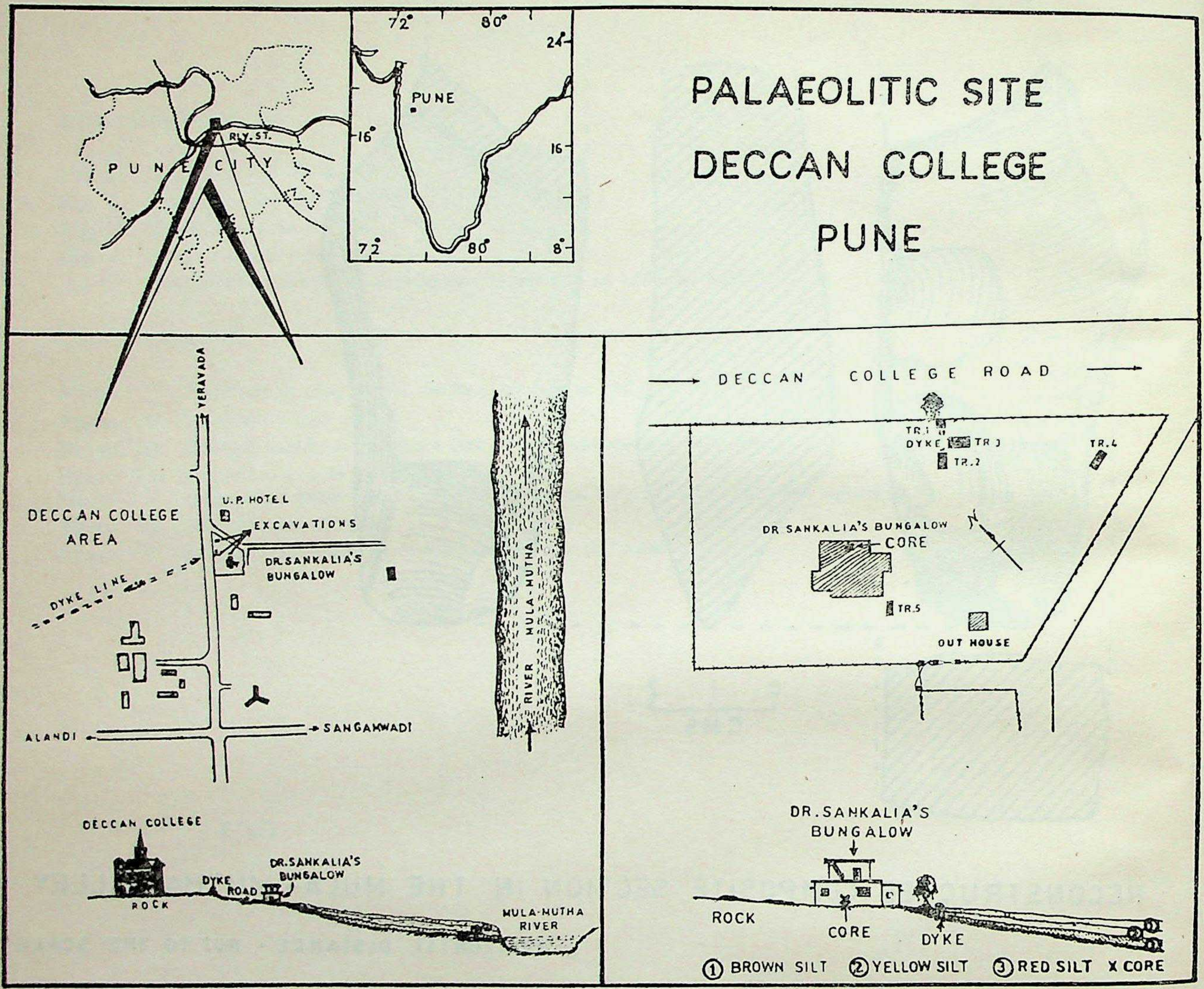
72°
80°
24
PUNE
16°
16
72°
80°
8°
PUNE CITY
RLY. ST.
PALAEOLITIC SITE
DECCAN COLLEGE
PUNE
YERAVADA
U.P. HOTEL
EXCAVATIONS
DECCAN COLLEGE AREA
DR. SANKALIA'S BUNGALOW
DYKE LINE
RIVER MULA-MUTHA
ALANDI
SANGAMWADI
DECCAN COLLEGE
DYKE
ROAD
DR. SANKALIA'S BUNGALOW
ROCK
MULA-MUTHA RIVER
DECCAN COLLEGE ROAD
TR.1
DYKE
TR.3
TR.2
TR.4
DR SANKALIA'S BUNGALOW
CORE
N
TR.5
OUT HOUSE
DR. SANKALIA'S BUNGALOW
ROCK
CORE
DYKE
① BROWN SILT ② YELLOW SILT ③ RED SILT X CORE

Fig. 2

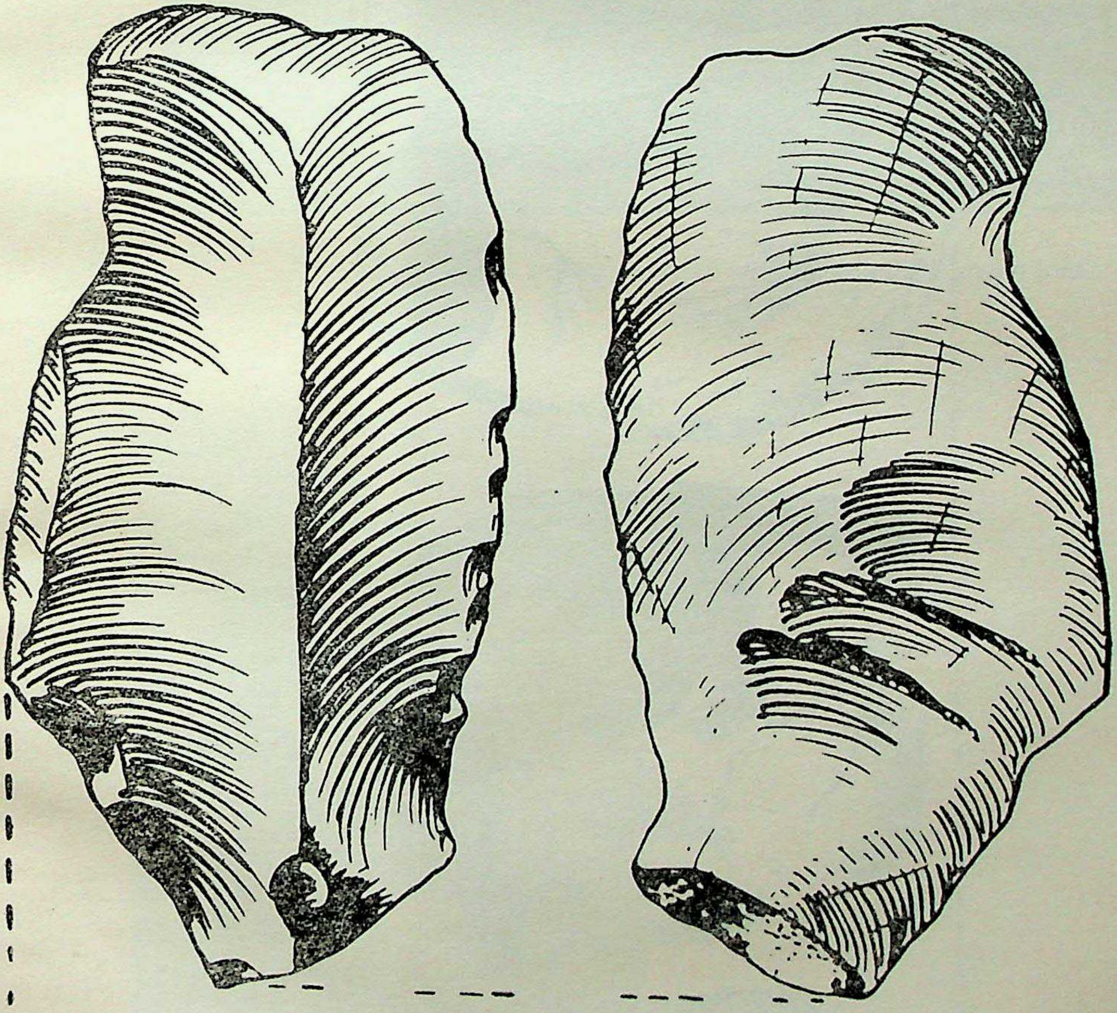

Fig. 4

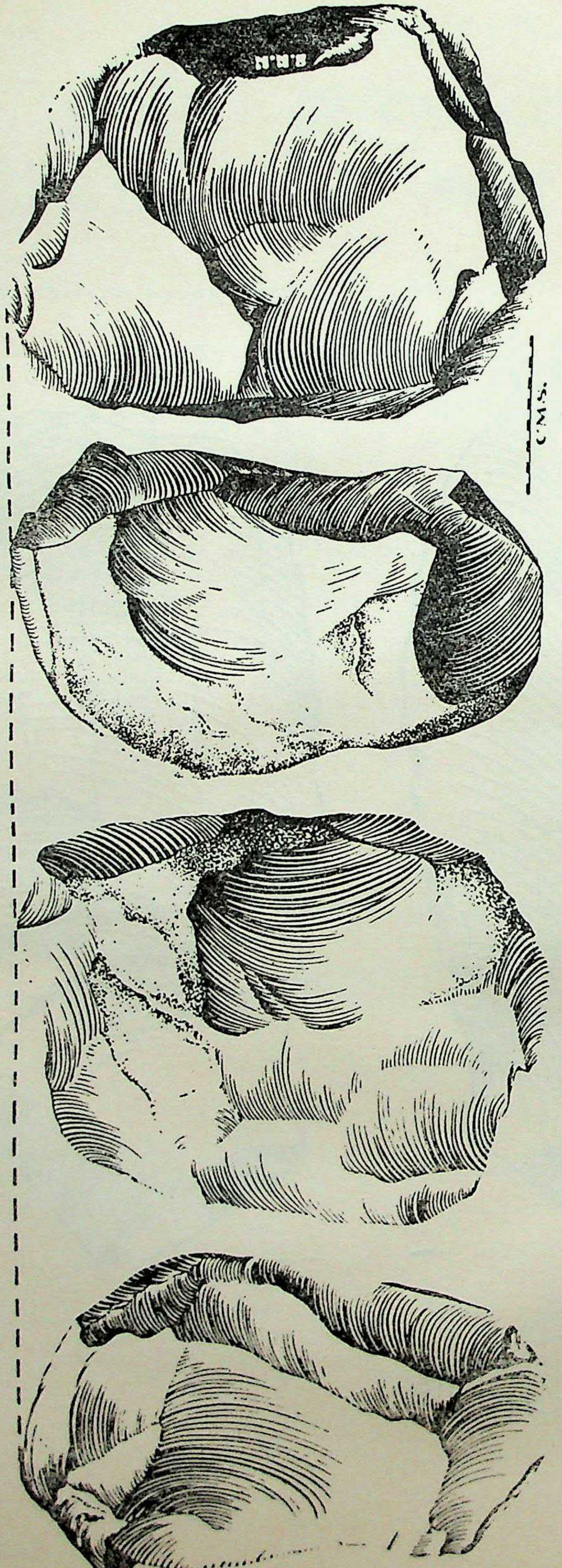

Fig. 5

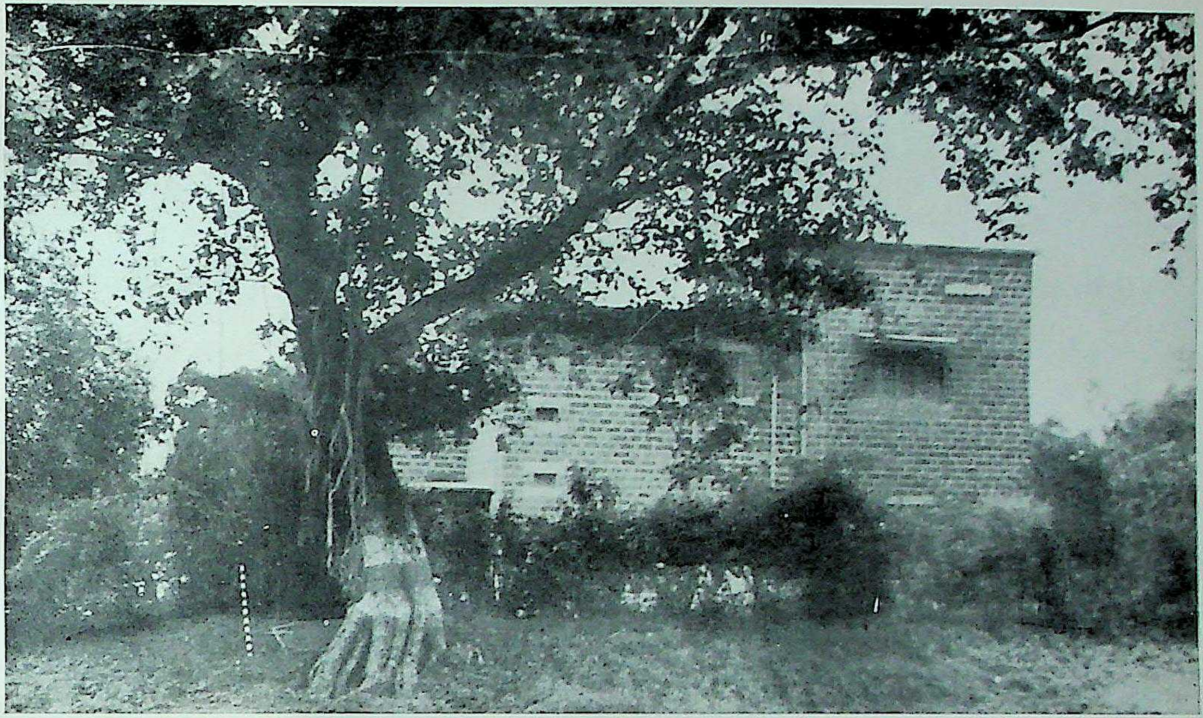

Photo I : Handaxe *in situ*, beside the banyan tree

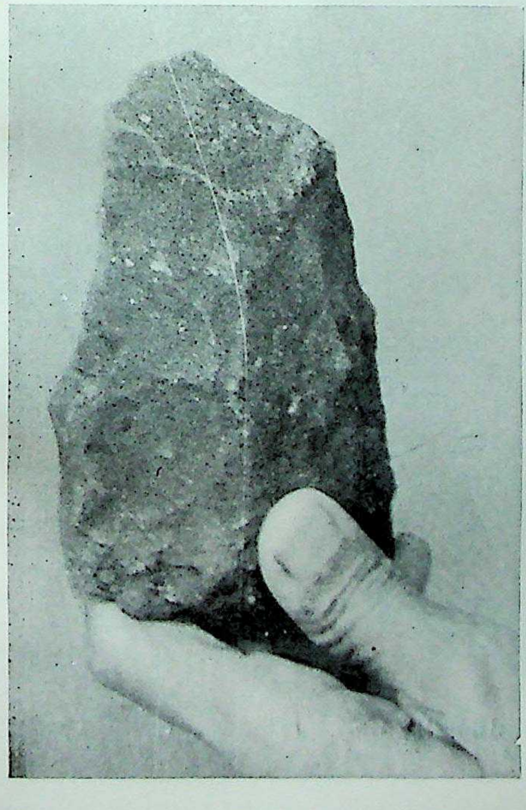

Photo II : Handaxe (close-up)

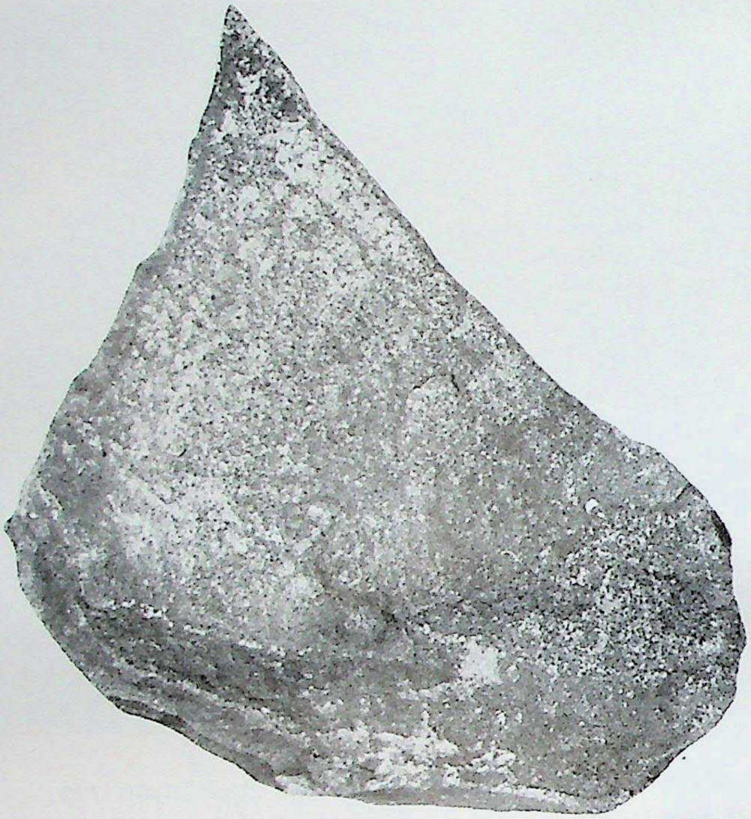

Photo III : Pointed axe

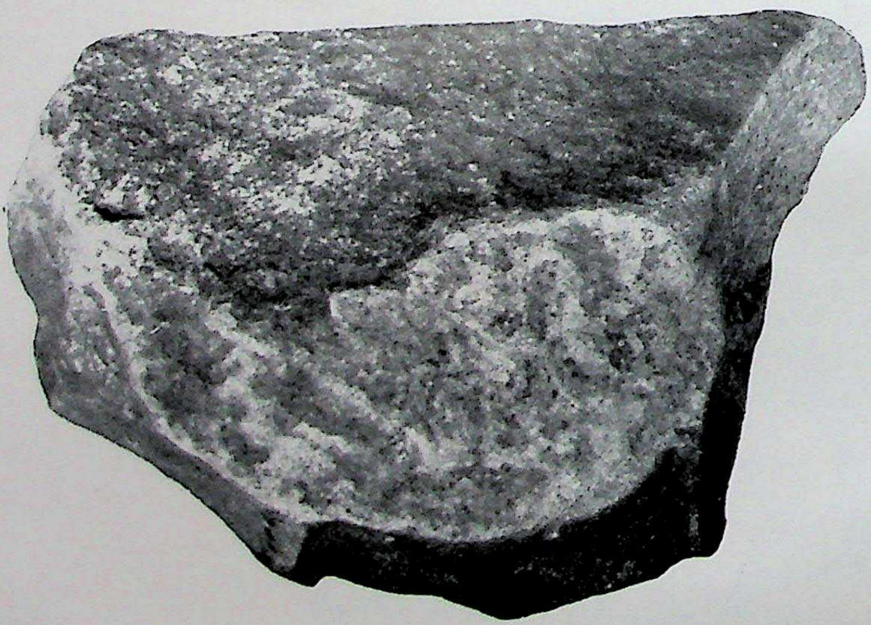

Photo IV : Semicircular Scraper found on 24.9.84

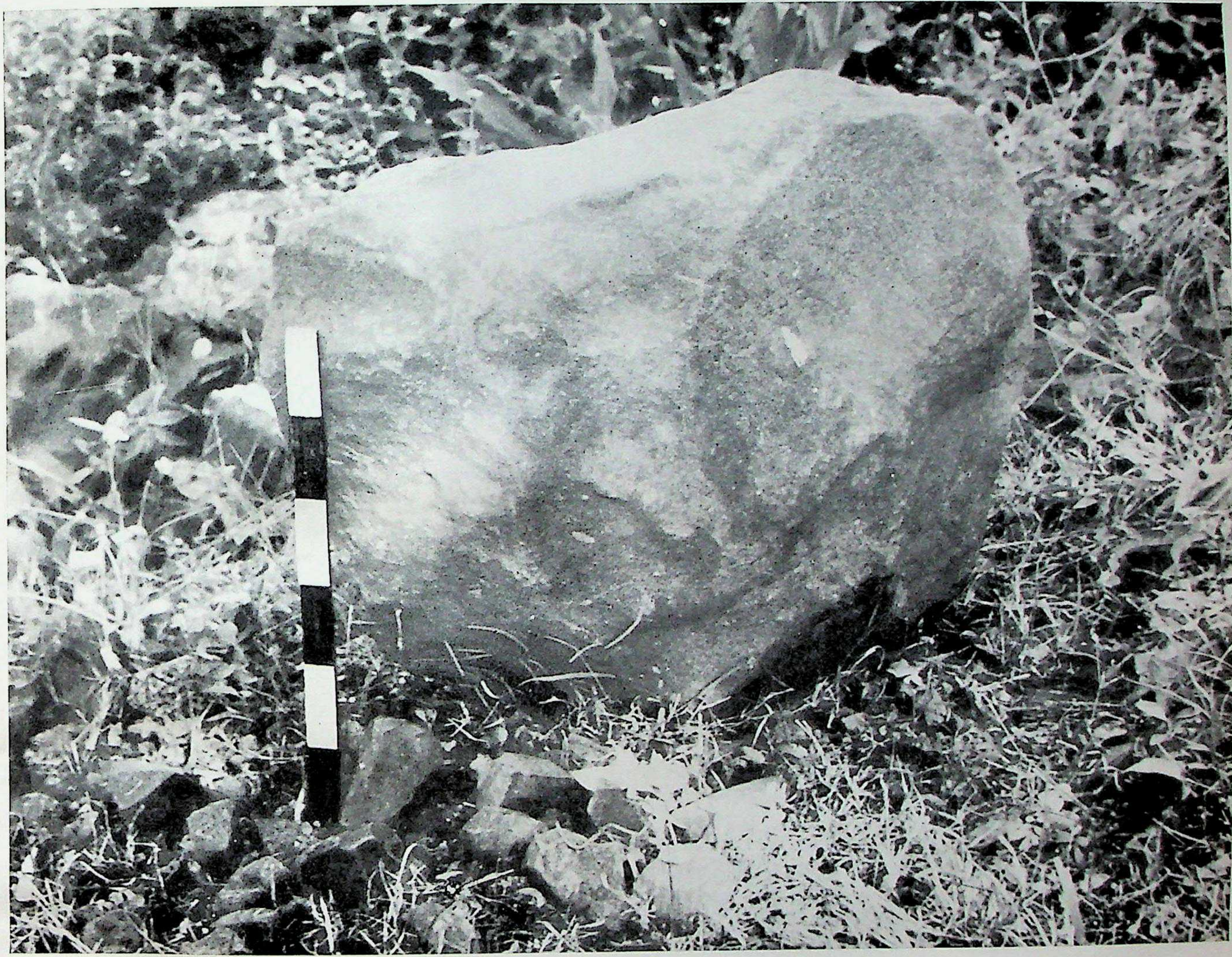

Photo V : Huge core

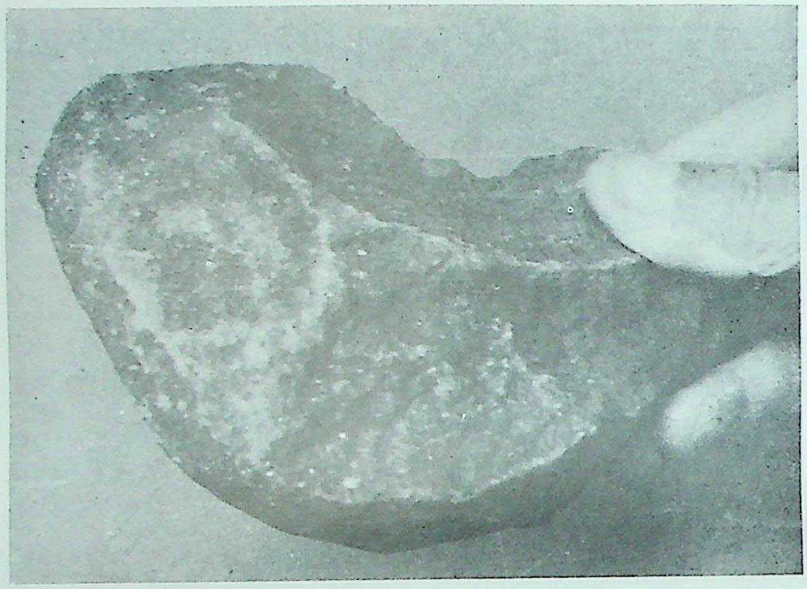

Photo VI : Semicircular scraper found on 5.9.83

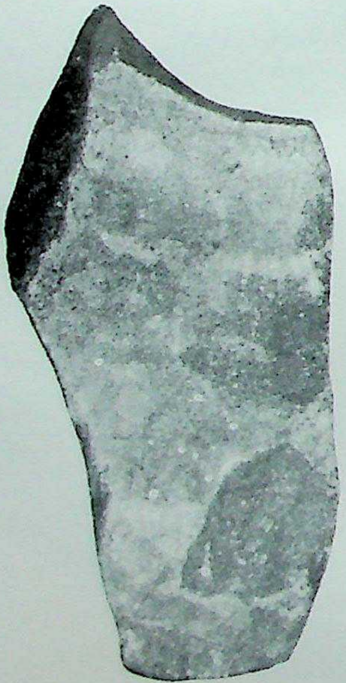

Photo VII : Pointed tool

9

ELEMENTS OF HINDU CULTURE IN CENTRAL ASIA

Md. Aquique

Documented history of Central Asia has not yet been as popular in India as it should be, primarily because, with the lack of proper facilities not many students are attracted towards this field of historical studies. I would therefore like to present in the following pages a brief survey outlining the age-old cultural ties between India and this region.

The term 'Central Asia' whether in ancient or modern times is subject to constant revision in the geographical sphere as the places it included or excluded from time to time changed as political entities. Besides there was never a time when the entire area constituted one political or particular geographical entity. Physically it was full of diversity, politically there was frequent differentiation. Therefore, it still defies definite geographical definition. For the purpose of the present investigation, Central Asia refers to the area comprising Kirghiz, Tadjik, Turkmen, Kazakh and Uzbek, Soviet Socialist Republics of the USSR, the Mongolian Peoples Republic and the three dependencies of China known today as the Inner Mongolian autonomous region, the Sinkiang-Uighur autonomous region and the Tibet autonomous region.[1]

The history of the ruling families of Central Asia are fragmentary accounts found in manuscript remains, odd coins and sketchy references in Chinese and Tibetan literature. That they ascribe importance to the Indian presence in Central Asia as a ruling class, however temporary, testifies to the extent of the influence that Indians exerted in the early centuries A.D. According to an old legend the ruling family of Khotan hailed from India and started a dynasty in the first century A.D. Chinese and Tibetan accounts tell us that this dynasty was succeeded by a series of kings whose names began with Vijita. The first king was Vijita-Sambhava and he was followed by thirteen others, ending with Vijita-Kirti. Then we have the Kuṣāṇa empire that covered Northern India and touched the outskirts of Central Asia.

In Kharoshthi documents we find the popular appellation for a king with a typically resounding Indian term '*maharāya*' which is so close to the Sanskrit '*maharāja*'.[2] The king always was addressed with elaborate and grandiloquent phrases forerunning his name, ascribing to him attributes of a superlative degree. Some of these appear on Kuṣāṇa coins. It gives one the impression that these people believed in the Divine Right of kings, or else why would they consider the king to be a deity incarnate and call their queens *devî.* ? In some of the records we find the crown prince was the '*maharāja putra*', state officials as '*Raji-Jamna*', the army as '*Sena-jamnas*'.[3] There was systematized administration which looked after public facilities such as maintenance of highways and protection from the bandits. Tasks were assigned to officials according to their department and an interesting idea of state injunctions, public orders and proclamations can be had from the manuscript remains. There were properly sealed documents as it appears from the available fragments of sealed wedge-shaped tablets, designated as '*anati-kila mundra*' (Sanskrit '*Kilmudra*'). Official correspondence was formal, businesslike and carefully executed documents. Couriers were employed to convey confidential letters '*Cara Pusnsa*'. If the king's position was unassailable, he was also expected to maintain high moral standards and uphold the well-being of his people, in keeping with the tenets of his faith (*dhamenanic Karteva*). In the words of Aurel Stein: "that official custom knew also a style far less ornate is amply shown by businesslike and peremptory tone adopted in some of wedge-shaped tablets, ordering submission of affidavits according to a specified list, production of certain witness, arrests of certain individuals, etc. . . . When the country was threatened by external aggression, top secret despatches and confidential communications were conducted through '*Vinatilekhas*', quite similar to the '*Pravithika*' that we come across in Indian literature."[4]

The Kharoshthi word to designate an ambassador was '*duta*' or '*dutiya*' and the manuscripts give no interesting information about their social status and function. They show that the state gave them privileged treatment and this assumption has also been corroborated by contemporary literature.

In the field of social and economic life, we come across marked Indian influence. If we go by the Kharoshthi documents we come to the same basic conclusion that even family life found its parallels in the Hindu family system of India. Indian terminology was in common use, such as '*Purusha*' (Person', *pita* (father), *mattu* (mother), *putra* (son), *putri* (daughter) and several other words and phrases with which we are so familiar.

We are inclined to believe that they observed a patriarchal form of society, the father being the lord and master, and head of the family. Sons were the proud offsprings of parents and the birth of a boy seemed to be an occasion for great rejoicing. The Niya documents contain endearing epithets used by a son for his father '*Priya-darsanas*', and '*satyapramsa*'. The use of an expression like "May we live and hear for a hundred years", shows that people aspired to longevity even as the Indians did.

It appears that in the first few centuries of the Christian era, life in these regions especially Chinese Turkestan was strongly influenced by Hindu thought and culture and it could be true that the exiled Hindu prince Kunala founded the first dynasty in Khotan. R.C. Agrawala opines that in Chinese Turkestan society was dominated by Hinduism and adds: "One of Kharoshthi documents even states that all creatures, on entering the doctrine of the 'Tathagathas' make end of birth and death." People were exhorted to lead an exemplary and pious life and even kings were reminded of their religious and social duties and to abide by the '*dharma*', which is very well corroborated by the epithet '*sacadhamastidasa*' for a king, in several manuscripts under review.

It is also observed that in the Niya society there was a common practice of buying and selling girls—abhorrent by Indian standards, but understandable when we remember that society in Chinese Turkestan was cosmopolitan and this practice could possibly be under some other foreign influence. There is a quotation from the Kharoshthi manuscript, which is again a repetition of Indian ideals. It speaks of the transience and instability of worldly wealth. "Just as a man travelling on a journey rests here and there whenever overcome by fatigue, so a man's riches having rested from time to time, come back again." The same document also contains a prayer for victory and prosperity.

People apparently were non-vegetarian and animals were, therefore, used for domestic purpose, transportation and the army. Some Kharoshthi documents of leather have been found and a mention is also made for books made of leather which were probably a couple of sheets of leather bound together. People apparently lived a congenial existence. Trade in silks, spices and handicrafts was prevalent. Handicrafts like wood-carving, pottery, wearing and making of ornaments were practised. Many goods were imported to satiate local appetite for foreign goods. The rich gentry lived in splendour and employed large numbers of domestic servants. Slavery was also prevalent.[5] Even Buddhist monks could buy and sell slaves. The word used for a slave was '*dasa*' ('*dahaja*', '*thajha*' . . . for a male slave) and a female slave was called '*dasî*'. The master of slaves was known as '*Bhatara*'—in Sanskrit we say '*Bhattaraka*'.

Coolies were employed and porters carried goods and sometimes beasts of burden like donkeys, mules, horses and camels carried goods over vast distances. But slaves and menials were decently treated, housed, fed and clothed and adequately recompensed for their labours, but mainly in kind rather than cash. Slaves were bought and sold by proper agreements duly registered.

People possessed landed property and agreements for sale and purchase and even mortgage were well-recorded documents. Several Kharoshthi documents dug up by Aurel Stein are such land deeds, court notices and legal decisions. People undertook farming and agriculture. Proper irrigation systems existed (judging from rivers) and water was suitably channelled to the fields. It was the destruction of these water channels, which caused abandonment of some settlements. Water was required especially in the more arid regions and the lands bordering the Taklamakan desert and it was provided by a well-planned irrigation system.

Taxes were collected mainly in kind, judging from these documents. So varied was the produce consisting of corn, farm products, ghee, urine, camels, textiles and carpets that Niya had to work out an elaborate system of evaluation and taxation. Some documents relating to taxation are written on wooden '*takhtis*' very like the slates used by Indian children till today. People of various professions and even personal names remind us so much of the same in India.

Besides Greek, Roman and Iranian coins, even Indian ones, 'Maṣaka', have been found. *Suvarna* and *Kanaka* were the words for gold. Cloth was measured by hand (*hasta*), height by spans (*dithis*) and land measured by the amount of seed required to cultivate it. Half was *adha* and quarter *pada*. All this evidence has important bearing on the Indian influence in Central Asia.

As we browse through the annals of world history it becomes increasingly evident that the contact and inter-communication between cultures is a powerful stimulus to their development and progressive evolution. In early Central Asia, we see a cosmopolitan society, peacefully engaged in pursuits such as trade and commerce, religion and other social activity. This community was composed of people who came together not to establish a political entity but for the mutual benefits of economic exchange. This association and interaction of cultures generated a form of art that was exquisite and strikingly beautiful. This art was essentially an integration of the aesthetic sensibilities of India, China, Greece, Rome and Persia. Sometimes we come across scholars with strong national bias, who say that the art of sites like Piandzikent and Balalik Tape represent the autonomous artistic expressions of the peoples of the area. But if one makes an objective and impartial study it becomes clear that the sites of Sogdiana cannot boast of its own independent and individual masterpieces of art, just as it is difficult to say the same of Tung Huang and other oasis on the silk route. Sogdiana and Piandzikent were strongly influenced by Greece and Rome, and one can also trace a faint touch or too from India. Balalik Tape was exposed to both these cultures plus Iran and India. Also it absorbed Buddhism and with the acceptance of this creed, there was cultural diffusion as well.

Art is influenced by space and time, and it absorbs the style and rhythm it is exposed to. In the footsteps of the missionaries a magnificent art developed in Gandhāra in the first century B.C. from a synthesis of Hellenistic influences with Indian traditions. In Afghanistan and particularly at Bamiyan we have sculptures of monumental proportions bearing evidence to this effect. Due to the ravages of time and climate, paintings have not survived, but many of the sculptures still stand as testimony. The Chinese pilgrim Hiun Tsang mentions in his memoirs that there was a tradition which held that the Kingdom of Khotan was founded by exiled Gandharan subjects of King Aśoka. This would mean that the typical Gandhāra art was transported with these aliens into Khotan. Peliot has unreservedly remarked that silk route had long been a route for the transmission of art and religion as well. So, in this way cultural influences were carried to Russia and Chinese Turkistan, and Central Asia as a whole.

French archaeologists have discovered magnificent Buddha monuments in the Gandhāra and Mathura styles on the road from Taxila to Turkistan, in Bamiyan, Fondukistan, Begram and the ancient city of Kapisa. The most famous works of Bamiyan are two colossal Buddha statues, measuring 35 and 53 metres in height. The inner part of the niche in which the first is placed is covered with beautiful painted frescoes which have faded in the course of time.[6] These statues date back to the second century A.D. According to Grousset, the statues that have been found at Fondukistan are very obviously Indian in style. Antiquarian remains found by French archaeologists at Begram seem to be an assortment of varying cultures, the Indian represented by a collection of ivory articles. In Balasgm, south of Lake Balkhas, Khorasmia and in Piandzikent, the Buddhist monuments that have been found reveal the influence of Indian Buddhist art strongly permeated by Greek and Persian features.

The oldest type of Central Asian wall-painting has been called Gandharan by experts like Grunwedel, since it had distinct characteristics of that school of art. Wachsberger feels that the temple paintings at Sangim, Miran and Bazaklik resemble Ajanta paintings, and according to Hartel, the paintings found by Stein at Dandan Uiliq are the most beautiful and the closest copies of the Ajanta. In the natural and carved caves of Tun Huang that contain the thousand and one Buddhas that were offerings of tradesmen and travellers to propitiate the masters in their favour, we find the walls adorned with similar style of painting and the statues modelled of stucco.

Who painted these pictures or sculptured these images? The answer rests with the people who inhabited these regions—Chinese, Indian, Iranian, Greek Roman, Tokharian and so on. Artists were either local or from abroad, but their theme was the same and invariably centred round the Buddha. Buddhism came from India, and so whatever religious or artistic idea emanated from India was considered authoritative. "Only Chorasunian and Sogdian Schools which were in fact the eastward extension of Sassanian art formed part of the ulestern zone of the Central Asian art traditions and the so-called Bactrian school, which was only the westward extension of Gandhāra art, served as a link between the ulestern and the Eastern zones."[7] It may also be said that since in ancient times the cultural frontiers of India extended as far as Balkh on the Oxus, the Indian image was thereby reflected.

References

1. Gavin Hambly, *Central Asia.*
2. cf. A.M. Byoyer, *El Al Kharoshi Inscription*, Oxford, Vols, I-III.
3. *ibid.*
4. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 367.
5. R.C. Agrawala, *Indian Culture from the Kharoshthi Documents from Chinese Turkistan.*
6. cf. Chhaya Bhattacharya, *India: A Major Source of Central Asian Art.*
7. *ibid.*

10

ORIGINS OF BUDDHISM: A RESURVEY OF MATERIAL FACTORS

Vijay Kumar Thakur

In recent years the origin of Buddhism has attracted the attention of scholars. The hitherto prevalent theory explaining the rise of Buddhism in terms of a reaction to the ritual-ridden religion of the Vedic people is now no longer taken seriously. It is now becoming increasingly clear that Buddhism was primarily a social movement and hence related to contemporary social milieu. This growing realization on the part of scholars has led them to explain the origins of Buddhism in terms of technological changes obtaining in the sixth century B.C. and interpreting the latter development as having served as an instrument of meaningful social change. In all such analyses the crucial factor, that has been emphasized, is the role of iron in the field of production.[1] In the present paper an attempt has been made to indicate that the iron technology on the eve of the rise of Buddhism was not yet a crucial and decisive factor in the field of production to warrant the postulation of a theory linking it with the origins of such an important social movement as Buddhism.

On the basis of the discovery of iron from *c*. 900 B.C. in northern India it has been suggested that the contemporary technology was revolutionized leading to the beginnings of a new agriculture which provided enough surplus to enable contemporary society to inaugurate a new phase of urbanization.[2] As a consequence, it has been suggested that this new agriculture and the resultant urbanization led to a social disequilibrium finally epitomizing itself in the rise of protestant movements like Buddhism, Jainism, etc. This line of inquiry obviously suggests that Buddhism was a growth of new technology available to the people in the form of the use of iron. This will further mean that iron was being used extensively in the field of production, and it is precisely this point which needs reinvestigation and revaluation.

One of the protagonists of this theory, R.S. Sharma, has, however, indirectly revised his stand as far as the date of the introduction of iron in the field of production is concerned. Now he has suggested that only from *c*. 500 B.C. we encounter "more" agricultural implements[3] and that too he says on the authority of another scholar[4] without citing the corroborative evidence. Even then he clearly implies that before the fifth century B.C. iron did not play any singnificant role in the field of production, an argument which can be further stretched to contradict his theory of the use of iron *vis-a-vis* the rise of Buddhism. From Sharma's own count if enough iron agricultural implements were not available to the people living before 500 B.C., then how can it be suggested that there was any perceptible link between iron-aided agriculture and the rise of Buddhism.

There is yet another aspect of the problem. For the sake of argument one can suggest that if iron tools and implements came to be more in use from *c*. 500 B.C., *i.e.*, towards the beginning of the NBP phase, then it can be presumed that they might have affected the economy of at least one century earlier also. We have to find out what precisely is the period in which we come across iron tools and implements that can be associated with the beginnings of the new agriculture. It is quite interesting to note that O.P. Tandon, on whose authority R.S. Sharma delineates the beginnings of a full-fledged iron age in India from *c*. 500 B.C., fails to identify even a single worthwhile iron implement belonging to this period.[5] Interestingly, a study of the iron objects discovered from the NBP sites of the Ganga basin[6] gives us an altogether different picture. The iron objects that have been picked up from this level include chisels, arrowheads, spearheads, daggers, nails, knives, hooks, barks, crowbars, spikes, handles, sickles and smith's anvils.[7] Iron-axe, plain or socketed, iron hammer and iron ploughshare are conspicuous by their absence from these sites. Notably the earliest iron ploughshare reported so far is from Kauśāmbī, and that too, according to the excavator's stratigraphy, cannot be dated earlier than A.D. 200.[8]

In view of the absence of any worthwhile find of iron axe and ploughshare, how can one assume that it was iron technology which effected the clearance of dense forests of the Ganga valley and led to extensive agricultural operations ? We, however, do not doubt that the forests of the area were being cleared for habitation and agriculture. The only point that we dispute is that at the present state of our archaeological knowledge it will not be proper to credit iron technology with the clearance of forests even at the earlier NBP levels of culture. Instead it should be accepted that clearance could have been done by the well-known traditional method of burning as well as with the limited help of copper and bronze axes. Similarly, it is interesting to note that almost all the NBP levels have yielded hoes along with sickles, a fact which unmistakably suggests that hoe-cultivation was relatively the more universal method of agricultural operation. The prevalence of wooden ploughshare, however, cannot be ruled out. In the absence of any worthwhile find of iron ploughshares, it will be wrong to assume that there was any extensive iron-inaugurated agricultural operation about which scholars have often spoken, knowing fully well that the instruments of hoe and wooden plough cannot achieve that sort of extension. Obviously the much discussed extensive agriculture is a myth in the context of the 6th-5th centuries B.C. economy and apparently there is no connection between iron and rise of Buddhism on this count.

This is not to suggest that the rise of Buddhism was divorced from the contemporary socio-economic situation. We rather assert that this religion was a typical product of the contemporary social milieu. Our point of departure from the current theories explaining the rise of Buddhism in terms of material factors is to de-emphasize the role of iron technology in production *vis-a-vis* the origin of Buddhism. We shall seek to understand this development from a different yet somewhat related angle.

Iron, which became available to the PGW people and became more widespread during the NBP phase, certainly made its impact felt on society. A careful look at the repository of iron finds belonging to the PGW phase will help us in solving this problem. These include, besides slags and shapeless bits, arrowheads, spearheads, knives, nails, spades, knife-blades, daggers, hoes, fish-hooks, tongs, adzes, chisels and scissors.[9] Here it can be noticed that no iron axe, socketed or otherwise, no iron ploughshare and for that matter not even a single iron implement that could have been useful for large-scale forest clearance as well as reclamation of arable land and large-scale and extensive agricultural operations, have yet been brought to light for the period covering up to *c.* 500 B.C. Instead iron was being used for manufacturing weapons of war. These weapons, however, might have played a decisive role in state formation in India during those formative centuries.[10] This process possibly started towards the beginning of the PGW phase, the echoes of which are heard in the magnified version of the *Mahābhārata* story, and consequently led to the emergence of sixteen *mahājanapadas* by the sixth century B.C. That the subsequent rise of Magadha to a pre-eminent position in the succeeding centuries was largely due to its iron wealth explains this process more clearly. Thus it can be suggested that the extensive use of iron was largely instrumental in the breakup of the early Vedic tribal political organization, giving way to fixed territorial states by the sixth century B.C. These states, numbering sixteen in this period,[11] were certainly centres of political authority and their respective capitals increasingly became important both politically and geographically. With the growing complexity of the administrative system in the age of the Buddha, the number of officials increased, thereby increasing the population of these capitals substantially. Along with this increasing bureaucracy was the emergence of a standing army, another major constituent of the population of the capital. The retainers followed and along with them came the members of such professional classes as physicians, barbers, etc. Another major factor which helped in swelling the population of these seats of power was their geographical location in economically significant areas. Almost all the capitals of these *mahājanapadas* were situated at such places that commanded traffic routes and thereby controlled the very arteries of trade. This economic aspect of the capitals provided them with an additional population of merchants, craftsmen and artisans. Thus, these capitals were not only seats of political power, but they also emerged as centres of economic and social activities. All these factors combined together to give northern India its earliest urban centres, and these, in turn, acted as centres of urban diffusion. Here it may be pointed out that the rearing up of these earliest historical urban centres did not need the much emphasized iron-based extensive agriculture, because archaeology clearly indicates that the urban centres of that period were materially quite poor. Nevertheless, by the sixth century B.C. beginnings had been made towards the emergence of second urbanization in India. The surplus was available because of the extension in agriculture during the later Vedic times.[12]

It is in the context of this nascent urbanism of the sixth century B.C. that one may explain the origins of Buddhism. Emerging in a typical milieu, Buddhism was essentially a religion in tune with the developing urban spirit and way of life. The position can be better understood if one keeps in mind the vehement opposition of the traditional Brahmanical school to urban institutions and to the new way of life itself. The important features of the urban society like trade, usury, public eating places, prostitution, etc., came to be condemned by the orthodox village-oriented Brahmanical law-givers. Buddhism not only came to terms with these new practices and institutions, but also provided implicit support to some of them.[13] Seemingly the social relevance of Buddhism was in the philosophical and religious justification that it provided to the emerging urban way of life. The social philosophy of Buddhism clearly hints at its close connections with the community which virtually controlled the urban economy and which dominated the urban scene.[14] This is certainly a clear indication of the urban roots of Buddhism.

The urbanity of Buddhism is also made explicit through Buddha's own way of life. A study of the pattern of his life, the milieu from which he emerged, and the different aspects of his public life, shows that the setting of his life was typically urban. His was a life spent in great centres—centres which were essentially urban in nature. The appeal of his doctrines was mainly to men who were making adjustments in the new urban milieu. Among the things which, as tradition suggests, might be said in his praise was his abstinence from "village ways" (*gāmmadhamma*),[15] a term which could also be translated as "vile conduct". T.W. Rhys Davids suggests that the phrase means "the practice of country folk . . . the opposite of *porī*, urbane."[16] Later in the same passage it is said that the words of the Buddha are "pleasant to the ear, reaching to the heart, urbane (*pori*)".[17] The point here seems to be that Buddha's urbanity of speech was consistent with the rational quality of the ideas which he expressed. This complete harmony in the practices and teachings of the Buddha is an ample testimony to the strong urban base of Buddhism. In this context the Buddhist emphasis on non-violence may be viewed as an urban spirit which, while it helped the agrarian economy, was also a reaction against the violence involved in the process of state formation.

The essential urban connection of Buddhism can be better understood if we keep in mind the fact that it became a popular religion only during the Mauryan period when towns had become a dominant factor in the society. If the historical perspective is widened further, one notices that with the decay of urban tradition in the post-Gupta period, Buddhism also started showing signs of decline. This close relationship between urbanism and Buddhism in ancient India, however, needs further investigation. Nevertheless, for the present purpose we can suggest that Buddhism was urban in nature and it originated primarily as a result of the urbanism of the sixth century B.C.

Notes and References

1. R.S. Sharma, 'Material Background of the Origin of Buddhism', in *Das Kapital Centenary Volume* (eds. M. Sen & M.B. Rao), 1968, pp. 62-64; R. Thapar, 'Ethics, Religion and Social Protest in the First Millennium B.C. in Northern India', in *Ancient Indian Social History* (1978), pp. 40-62; V.K. Thakur, 'Origin and Growth of Buddhism in India', *The Maha Bodhi*, Vol. 85, Nos. 2-3, pp. 37-41.

2. R.S. Sharma, *loc. cit.*; idem, 'Iron and Urbanization in the Ganga Basin', *The Indian Historical Review*, 1 (1), pp. 98-103; V.K. Thakur, 'Second Urbanisation in India: A Theoretical Perspective', in *L.N. Mishra Commemoration Volume* (Bodh Gaya, 1977), pp. 321-335. The position has been restated without much new evidence, in R.S. Sharma, *Material Culture and Social Formations in Ancient India* (Delhi, 1983), pp. 117-134.
3. 'Class Formation and Its Material Basis in the Upper Gangetic Basin (*c.* 1000-500 B.C.)', *The Indian Historical Review*, 2(1), p. 2.
4. O.P. Tandon, 'Alamgirpur and the Iron Age in India', *Purātattva*, No. 1, p. 59.
5. *ibid.*, pp. 54-60.
6. We are concentrating on this areas because of its association with the rise of Buddhism.
7. N.R. Ray, 'Technology and Social Change in Early Indian History : A Note Posing a Theoretical Question', *Purātattva*, No. 8, p. 133.
8. *ibid.* Recently an iron ploughshare has been discovered at Jakhera in Eta district of U.P., which belongs to the last phase of the PGW (perhaps middle of the first millenium B.C. or even later). Being an isolated instance of its type, this hardly alters the overall picture.
9. R.S. Sharma, *op. cit*., p. 2, fn. 2.
10. This process can be better appreciated if one keeps in mind the concrete example of Kuru-Pāñchāla kindgom of the pre-600 B.C. period. Iron weapons are forthcoming from the Kuru kingdoms in the upper portion of the Ganga-Yamuna Doab (This area roughly corresponds to modern Thaneshwar, Delhi and the greater part of the upper Gangetic Doab), H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 1972, p. 21., of the Pāñchālas in Bareilly, Badaun, Farrukhabad and adjoining districts of Rohilkhand and the central Doab (*ibid.*, p. 64), of the Matsyas in the Bharatpur, Jaipur and Alwar areas (*ibid.*, pp. 61-62), and of the Madras in the Punjab (*ibid.*, pp. 58-59). It is, however, a matter of conjecture as to which of them possessed more iron weapons. But as the largest deposit of iron weapons discovered so far is forthcoming from Atranjikhera in the Pañchāla area, it can be suggested that these people had an edge over their contemporaries in this respect. The large kingdom of the Kuru-Pañchālas, therefore, may have owed to the use of iron weapons not only its formation but also its superiority over other contemporary kingdoms. During the succeeding period Magadha also seems to have enjoyed a similar status because of its control over rich iron-ore deposits.
11. A. Ghosh's suggestion that the exclusion of western Rajasthan, Gujarat, Orissa and the South from the list of *Solaśa Mahājanapadas* may imply the absence of urban centres in these areas at the time of the composition of the list (*The City in Early Historical India*, 1973, p. 35) is hardly tenable. The absence only indicates the lack of knowledge about this area on the part of the composers of the list.
12. For details, see V.K. Thakur, 'Role of Iron in the Origin of Second Urbanisation in India: A Resurvey of Evidence', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 42 session (Bodh Gaya, 1981), pp. 61-69.
13. R.S. Sharma, 'Material Background of the Origin of Buddhism', *op. cit.*, pp. 62-64 ; V.K. Thakur, 'Origin and Growth of Buddhism in India', *op. cit.*, pp. 37-41.
14. Fairservis's suggestion that Buddhism was a reaction to the urban way of life (*The Roots of Ancient India*, 1971, p. 379) betrays a wrong understanding of the whole situation. In direct contradiction to his views, Buddhism may be regarded as a religion taking the urban side in the contemporary rural-urban philosophical-ideological struggle. Buddhism was definitely a religion seemingly fighting for the privileges of the powerful emerging urban groups hitherto denied any social recognition and prestige in a society dominated by orthodox Brahmanical normatives. Also, see V.K. Thakur, *Urbanisation in Acient India* (New Delhi, 1981), p. 72ff.
15. T. Ling, *The Buddha* (Pelican Books, 1976), p. 129.
16. T.W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt. I (1899), p. 4, n. 3.
17. Quoted in T. Ling, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

11

ŚAKTI CULT IN ANCIENT RAJASTHAN: SOME INTERESTING ASPECTS

R.C. Agrawala

The antiquity of Śakti worship in Rajasthan, based on sculptural and art evidence, may well be pushed back to the beginning of the Christian era. It was about thirty years ago that I published the famous nine inches high white Kaolin plaque from Nagar, ancient Mālvanagar, in Tonk district of Rajasthan. It presents the four-armed Mahishamardinī pressing the demon animal with her right lower hand and the tongue of buffalo with the lower left, the right upper carries the double pronged thunderbolt while the upper left holds the typical rectangular shield, which becomes circular in the Gupta art. On stylistic grounds the Nagar plaque was assigned by me to the period between first century B.C. and first century A.D. This dating has recently been confirmed by the renowned excavator Sri Krishna Dev who, in his letter No. 1530, dated 12 July 1984 from Varanasi, has informed me that "the Kaolin plaque was recovered from an early layer assignable to first century A.D. Your dating is therefoe substantiated by stratigraphical position." The Nagar plaque is quite superb in its execution. In fact, the cult of Mahishamardinī Durga was quite popular in Mathura region also during the early centuries of the Christian era—a fact which is amply proved by dozens of tiny plaques of stone and clay, most of them measuring about 23 cm. (9 inches) in height.

A good number of Mathuran Kuṣāna terracottas present the goddess Mahishamardinī tying the garland round her head, with her upraised arms, as discussed by Dr. J. C. Harle in his writings.[2] This motif was well copied in the Gupta art of Central India. The beautiful terracotta plaque from Sonkh excavations by H. Hartel[3] is equally interesting. A recent addition of an exquisite red sand-stone plaque to Indian Art Museum at Berlin, West Germany is of greater iconographic interest;[4] it is datable to second-third century A.D. and depicts eight-armed Mahishamardinī combating with buffalo demon in the traditional Kuṣāṇ style but she stands on two couchant lions facing the opposite sides; she is tying the garland round her head with upper raised hands. Besides this, the goddess carries the sun and moon in other raised arms, thus reminding us of Kuṣāṇa Śiva from Musangar (U.P.), early Gupta Śiva Parvati terracotta plaque from Raṅgamahal and early medieval panels from Central Asia, besides the Shahi Śiva Pārvati from N. W. India. The two lions below the feet of Mahishamardinī statue in Berlin Museum recall to our minds the later images of goddess Kshemankari from various parts of India, including Rajasthan where she is still worshipped as *Kheemela Mātā*. Such an early image in greenish blue schist from Jhadol (Udaipur) is now[5] preserved in the National Museum at New Delhi; it is datable to the fifth-sixth century.

The tying of a garland round the head in early Mahishmardinī plaques and sculptures seems to be quite an interesting feature, recalling the *Śriṅgārā* aspect in the post-Gupta art in relation to goddess Durga and needs literary support for a proper identification. At present I have suggested the epithet *Śriṅagāra Durgā* for such icons including fifth century sculpture from Mandasor (M.P.)[6] and now preserved in the Gwalior Museum; here she is decorating her matted locks with a beaded garland held in upper arms; her lower right hand carries a lotus bud and the left hand holds a sprinkler type of long necked jar; the lion *skin motif on her nether garments is very clear and so the dance pose.* It was exhibited in the Indian Art Exhibition at Paris in 1978-79; in the Exhibition Catalogue[7] it is simply labelled as a *Yoginī*—an identification which is far from satisfactory. An early-medieval relief in the niche of Temple No. VII at Roda[8] (Gujarat) depicts the goddess seated on a lion and putting on the anklet on her right leg. The image in the niche of Gaḍārmal Temple at Badoh (M.P.)[9] presents the goddess seated on lion; she is busy in *Śriṅgāra* aspect typified by setting the earlobe in position with two hands and putting on the vermillion mark with the help of raised right hand and left hand holding the round mirror—as also to be noticed in the medieval sculpture in the British Museum at London.[10] Dr. D.C. Bhattacharya[11] has brought to our notice an account of the *Dharma Koshasaṁgraha* where in Mahāmāyurī is assigned the rare pose of applying the vermilion (*Siṃdūrārpaṇā*) but other aspects such as the goddess associated with a lion, decorating the head with garland, setting earlobe in position, putting on the anklet, looking at the mirror, etc., prove beyond doubt that *such reliefs constitute some placid form of goddess Durga in full Śriṅgāra pose*. Rajasthan has to offer enough in this field as well. Early Pratihāra sculptures from Osian and Abaneri are worth a study; the former is to be seen *in situ* in the exterior niche of a subsidiary shrine of Hari Hara Temple at Osian,[12] datable to the eighth century whereas the other from Abaneri is now preserved[13] in the Archaeological Museum at Amber, near Jaipur; both of them present Durga's association with a lion besides various modes of *Śṛiṅgāra* including decorating the head and putting on the anklet. This motif may further be seen at Lāmbā (near Jodhpur) and Harash Nath Sikar (near Sikar) in Rajasthan itself. In fact *moorings of this Śriṅgāra aspect may well be looked into the Kuṣāna plaques of Mahishamardinī, though independent carvings of Śriṅgāra Durga have yet to be discovered in the contemporary art of Mathura*. During the post-Kuṣāna period, this aspect may be noticed both in Mahishamardinī sculptures as well as in the independent Durga icons of Mandasor type discussed above; the Pratihāra sculptors of course developed a fancy for this motif in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat. Mirror with Pārvati in early sculptural art also depicts the *Śriṅgāra* aspect of the goddess as also narrated in Indian literature.

The placid form of Durga is referred to as *Nārāyaṇī Durgā* in Sanskrit literature. The niche, just above the ground on the exterior of Ambikā Temple at Jagat,[14] in Udaipur district of Rajasthan, is worth a reference; it is absolutely *Vaiṣṇava* wearing a crown on her head, carrying the mace and wheel in upper arms, the left lower holds a conch while the lower right is stretched below in *Varadākśa*. Instead of a *garuḍa* vehicle, here we notice the human figure lying prostrate below. Exact identification of such images is essential though we may suggest tentative identification as *Nārāyaṇī Durgā*. A few medieval images of this type have been discovered in different parts of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, etc. One such early-medieval statue is now preserved in Chittor Museum whereas I have just noticed such a carving on the exterior of Paramāra Temple at Chandresal, near Kotah in Rajasthan.

The famous Gaṅgadhāra Incription of the fifth century from Jhalawar district of Rajasthan specifically states that the royal minister Mayūrāksha had built a temple of Divine Mothers filled with *dākinīs* who stir up the very oceans with the tantric or magical rites. This is a very specific reference to the worship of tantric form of Mātṛikā worship during the contemporary period; the use of *tantra* and *dākinī* is very interesting here. Varahamihira, in his *Bṛihatsamhitā*[15] lays down that *Matri* images should be installed by those who are well versed in the special mode of propitiating the mother called *manḍalkrama*; it refers to the magical circles which form an essential aspect of tantric ritualism. The *Viṣṇu-dharmottara Purāṇa* also quotes a number of mothers carrying flesh and vessels full of blood.[16] The Bihar Stone Inscription of the reign of Skandagupta specificially alludes to the shrine of Bhadrāryā and mentions Skanda and Divine Mothers. *But what was the actual form of such terrific mothers and Dākinīs at this stage* ? The problem has not been substantiated by art specimens so far, but for a few presentations of Chamuṇḍā or terrific form of Mahishamardinī. Even the *Devī Purāṇa*, datable to about fifth century, speaks of Kshemankari with flesh and fish which typify her tantric character beyond doubt but to our knowledge *no such icon of Kshemankari also has been reported or published so far*. The Kuṣāna art of Mathura does present a few stone Saptamātṛkā reliefs wherein the mothers are shown with faces of birds and animals but they are all devoid of any terrific form. Even in the rock-cut Saptamātṛka panels from Badoh-Pathari and Deogarh, we hardly have a glimpse of the *dākinīs* or any other terrific mother other than Chamuṇḍā. *My* *exploratory tours around Gaṅgadhāra (Jhalawar) also proved of no avail.* In Orissa we do find post-Gupta and early-medieval carvings of Chamuṇḍā and Varahi with a fish, a theme which was further developed in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh subsequently but no such Gupta or even earlier tantric icon has come to our knowledge so far. A thorough search in this direction is urgently needed.

In Western India including Rajasthan we come across quite a good number of *mātṛkā* images of greenish blue schist of the Shamalaji-Amjhara group where Skanda also figures in the form of independent figures. One such group of fifth-sixth century sculptures from Tanesara (Udaipur)[17] is of great iconographic interest; here were discovered by us about a dozen icons of mothers along with that of Skanda as at Shamalaji. The Tanesara group constitutes a major bulk of females showing the mothers with a babe in different motherly nursing poses but the *conspicuous absence of the emblem or vehicle of any deity is worth noticing*; *all the mothers have a halo round the head.* It appears to me that such a unit of sculptures along with Skanda figuring independently represents the divine *Kṛttikā* mothers who had nourished the baby Skanda just after his birth. All these might have been the object of worship together at one place along with Skanda whereas the female counterparts of Brahmanic male deities form a separate group of mothers in the above unit of schist sculptures, both from Rajasthan and the adjoining region. Two exquisite specimens of the Tanesara group are now preserved in the Los Angeles Country Museum of Art in U.S.A. as discussed by P. Pal,[18] U P. Shah[19] and J.C. Harle.[20] The sculpture carrying the babe to one side is a masterpiece suggesting Western classical influence. The other specimen in Los Angeles Country Museum in U.S.A. is equally unique and is identified as Kaumārī by U.P. Shah and J.C. Harle but it requires rethinking looking to some important traits such as a serpent round her neck, a *Kamaṇḍalu* or water pot and hunting horn in lower hands and the full size Śakti or spear of Skanda held in her upper left hand; *here too there is utter absence of any vehicle of Skanda Kumāra.* The *goddess is shown pot-bellied—a* feature which is quite unusual for Kaumārī. To me she appears to be none else but *Skanda mātā* or Pārvatī; Skanda baby is yet to take his birth; he is still in the womb but his emblem (full-size spear) is enough to indicate his presence; the serpent round the neck of goddess is a *Śaiva* trait. Viewed in this light this statue from Tanesara assumes greater importance and quite reasonably. It is hoped that scholars of Indian iconography will throw further light on this unique sculpture from Rajasthan. A glance at the medieval stone relief No. H-33 in the State Museum at Lucknow, will be equally welcome; here we come across Śiva in the company of goat-headed mothers seated side by side. Skanda has been associated with Agni also and the six goat-headed mothers in the existing panel may be tentatively interpreted as the six Kṛttikās in the company of Śiva as suggested by me in *Lalit Kalā*, 14, 1969, pp. 56-57, plate XXIII, fig. 3.

Notes and References

1. R.C. Agrawala, *Lalit Kalā*, Bombay, Nos. 1-2, pp. 72-74; *Artibus Asiae*, Ascona, 21 (2), 1957, pp. 123-30, plate I; *Researcher*, Jaipur, 5-6, 1964-65, pp. 11-13, plate I.
2. J.C. Harle, *Ars Orientalis*, 8, 1970, p. 147ff.
3. H. Hartel, *Indologen Tagung, 1971*; Berlin, 1973, fig. 15 on p. 14. It is a six-armed specimen.
4. *German News*, New Delhi, dated 21.6.1984, pp. 8-9 and photo on p. 8.
5. R.C. Agrawala, *Journal of Oriental Institute*, Baroda, 19 (1-2), 1969, pp. 164-66, fig. 2.
6. R.C. Agrawala, *Journal of Bihar Research Society*, Patna, 54, 1968, pp. 199-201, plate XIV.
7. *Inde Cina Mille Ans D'Art*, Paris, 1978-79, p. 53 figure no. 38.
8. U.P. Shah, *Bulletin of Museum Picture Gallery*, Baroda, XIII, fig. 69 on p. 95.
9. R.C. Agrawala, *Lalit Kalā*, 15, p. 53, plate XXVI, I-A.
10. R.P. Chanda, *Mediaeval Sculptures in British Museum*, London, 1936, plate 8; S.K. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, 1957, Calcutta, plate 37, fig. 167.
11. D.C. Bhattacharya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, New Delhi, 1974, p. 64.
12. R.C. Agrawala, *Journal of Bihar Research Society*, Patna, 54, 1968, pp. 199-201, plate-XVI.
13. *ibid.*, plate XV.
14. R.C. Agrawala, *East and West*, Rome, 16 (1-2), 1966, pp. 109-111 and figure 7.
15. A.M. Shastri, *India as Seen in the Bṛihatsaṃhita*, Delhi, 1969, p. 155.

16. P.B. Shah, *Vishṇu Dharmottara*, G.O.S., Baroda, Vol. II, Chapter 73, pp. 202, 167, 227ff.
17. R.C. Agrawala, *Lalit Kalā*, X, 1961, pp. 31-33 and plates ; *ibid.*, XIV, 1969, pp. 56-57, *Bulletin of Museum and Picture Gallery*, Baroda, XXII, pp. 101-117. The group from Shamlaji has been the subject matter of a separate well-documented monograph by U.P. Shah in the form of *Bulletin of Baroda Museum*, Vol. XIII.
18. P. Pal, *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*, Oberlin College, U.S.A., 1971, pp. 105-118 and plates.
19. U.P. Shah, *Aspects of Indian Art* (*ed. P. Pal*), 1972, Leiden, pp. 44-48, plate XX.
20. J.C. Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, Oxford, 1977, pp. 49-50, figures 91 and 92.

12

JONARĀJA AND DVITĪYA RĀJATARANGINĪ

Sukla Das

"Kashmir can claim the distinction of being the only region of India which possesses an uninterrupted series of written records of its history going back beyond the period of the Muhammadan conquest and deserving the name of real chronicles", comments Sir Aurel Stein.[1] Of them the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa stands out predominantly. The *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī* composed by Jonarāja in the fifteenth century though completely overshadowed by the brilliance of the former deserves comprehensive evaluation by the yardstick of modern historical perspective.

Nothing in detail is known about this chronicler to whom we owe our knowledge of medieval Kashmir from the time of Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1155) to that of Sultan Zain-ul-abidin (A.D. 1420-1459). The autobiographical information in that work is rather scanty; it only ascribes its composition to Jonarāja.[2] He seems to be more eloquent about himself in his commentaries on the *Prithvīrājavijaya*[3] and the *Srīkaṇṭhacarita* of Maṅkha.[4] From these we learn that he was the son of Baṭṭa Nonarāja and grandson of Śrī Lolarāja.[5] Besides these two, he chronicled commentaries on the *Kirātārjuniya Kāvya* of Bhāravi[6] and it appears from them that the variation of his name was Jyotsānkara.[7] His pupil Paṇḍit Śrīvara throws some light on his preceptor's life, thus:

> There was on this earth my teacher Jyotsānkara, who was forever a mine of the nectar of speech, a devotee of Śiva, possessed of wealth and fame, of true promise, who had subdued anger, who was the leader of the circle of Brahmanas, who honoured The Brahmanas, of noble conduct, who was always honoured by the king, tranquil, having countless merits, who had mastered the sense of the Vedas and the Codes of Law, who was engaged in the performance of daily ablutions and prayers, who was respected by the hosts of pupils intensely attached to him, who, when in the royal court, looked like Bṛhaspati and was accompanied by a large body of followers.[8]

Jonarāja seems to have enjoyed a good reputation as a man of scholarship and influence. His association with the royal court might have earned for him the coveted title Rājānaka which occurs in the colophon of his commentary on the last canto of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*. This is further corroborated by Vallabhadeva, the compiler of the *Subhāṣītāvalī*[9] where three verses are attributed to Rājānaka Jonarāja. According to Śrīvara, his preceptor died in Saptarshi *samvat* 45 or A.D. 1459.[10]

Jonarāja was, unlike Kalhaṇa, more a historian than a poet. Verse was only his medium. Though the critics say that he had it in commission from the king to compose the chronicle,[11] a perusal of his work belies the point. In fact Jonarāja had a sharp historical bent of mind. Even before the composition of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* he had experimented in commenting on a historical *Kāvya* like the *Prithvīrājavijaya*. This might have influenced him later to try his hand on an independent historical work because he himself contemplated on making the chronicle of Kalhaṇa up to date.[12] Request from the Sultan to continue the chronicle seems to have fanned his desire and plan. That played an added incentive.

Strangely enough, Jonarāja's aim at writing this chronicle was different from that of Kalhaṇa. Kalhaṇa's work is didactic[13] but Jonarāja's reflections on historiography end with the conclusion that his chronicle is a tree planted to remove the afflictions of kings born of pride and languor[14] and he has the faint hope that good people will help to make that tree grow.[15] He adds that it is his own will and pleasure to attempt at historical writing.[16]

A sharp difference between Kalhaṇa and Jonarāja is that the former never failed to consider himself as a poet[17] while the latter had no fascination for poetic fame[18] and he was well aware of his limitation as a poet.[19] His was the task to fill in knowledge gaps,[20] to lift the veil of obscurity[21] and to give an outline of the history of kings.[22] It has been justly remarked "Jonarāja's work is an objective historical chronicle presented in a poetical garb."[23] As he selected verse for his medium, the *Kāvya* style and verbal subtleties arose as a natural consequence but he was conscious enough to see that the objective treatment of the narrative is not lost sight of in most of the stanzas which are simple and direct. In fact, credit goes to him for his strong sense of restraint from imaginary details usually present in the *Kāvyas*. Jonarāja has made a praiseworthy attempt at presenting pure history or *Śuddha Itihāsa*.[24] Though this is apparently an over-estimation, a critical analysis is indicated. Jonarāja's merit appears subdued to some extent because of people's natural leaning towards the first attempts that was to Kalhaṇa's advantage.

Jonarāja was partly influenced by the Persian and Arabic schools which paid more attention to chronology but he could not shake off completely the tradition of the old Hindu system. The result is a synthesis of both methods, which makes him the pioneer in the field of modern historical writing among the indigenous chroniclers. Judged by the standard of modern technique of historical writing his shortcomings are many and yet his work is a marked improvement on that of his predecessors.

He mastered the technique of handling his materials with care. His occasional lapses are more due to uncertainty than to factual irregularities. He made no attempt to fill in knowledge gaps by guess and surmise. Thus absence of historical details about the first five rulers, viz., Jayasiṁha, Paramāṇuka, Vantideva, Vappadeva and Jagadeva is more responsible for the summary account of their reigns. This effort towards authenticity is of particular significance in so far as it opens a boundless vista for future explorers in this sphere.

Though his recorded chronology sometimes varied from those of his Persian contemporaries the discrepancy may be chiefly due to the conversion of Indian dates to Hijri years by the latter and not due to any fault of his own. On the other hand, he saw to it that both the *Laukika* (*Saptarṣi*) and the Śaka dates were mentioned to ensure accuracy—a point well corroborated by available contemporary inscriptions.[25]

Sometimes an error seems to be only apparent. For instance, according to Jonarāja, Sultan Shamsher reigned for two years less by two months from A.D. 1342.[26] His successor Alauddin by the same source is stated to have reigned till death in A.D. 1355,[27] which works out that Alauddin reigned for ten years plus. But Jonarāja categorically states that Alauddin's reign lasted for twelve years eight months and thirteen days.[28] Could it be that this apparent contradiction is due to his inclusion of Shamsher's reign of two years to that of Alauddin's on account of his dominance and presumbly he did not consider the former as the real ruler? Śrīvara's omission of Shamsher's reign from the genealogical list of the Shah Mir dynasty is a sharp pointer in this direction.[29]

The *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī* has its own characteristics. It covers the post-Kalhaṇa period up to A.D. 1459. Jonarāja confined his attention to the Happy Valley only and touched very little events of other parts of India, Central Asia, Persia and Afganistan though he had the opportunity to paint on a wider canvas. It does not throw sufficient light on the life and condition of the people inhabiting the valley prior to the Muslim rule. The text acquires richness as the narrative approaches the author's own time though he did not give pointed attention to the contemporary life, society, economy and religion. His is only a bird's-eye view but impartial and honest.

Another feature of this work is its objectivity devoid of sentimentalism for the homeland. It lacks that enthusiasm of Kalhaṇa which directed him to be eloquent about Kashmir, the land of his birth.[30]

This difference might be due to the change of time. The time of Jonarāja was one of stress and strain when the medieval forces were replacing or shattering the old values and the new ones had not yet crystallized.[31] A feeling of loss, frustration and insecurity pervaded every sphere of life. In this period of transition there was hardly any scope to fall back on past glories. Consequently, the author had to live with realities to the point of fatalism[32] and this realism is well reflected in his work. Jonarāja believed that the fate of the ruler and the ruled set the wheel of history in motion[33] and so mere submission was the only way out.

A remarkable feature, however, is that he was an advocate of tolerance and co-existence. Himself a Śaiva Brahman[34] he had respect for all faiths.[35] This trait is very modern, more so for the medieval age and this he imbibed from the Trika philosophy of Śaivism which emphasized monism, *Jīvamukti* or liberation from bonds of ignorance, Bhakti or devotion, love and purification of *Buddhi* and perhaps also due to his contact with Islam.

Significantly, he opens his writing by invoking the blessings of Śiva and Pārvatī for the maintenance of goodwill or *Sadbhāva* among people and preservation of their property. It was a period of destruction and persecution. Sultan Sikandar's fanatic zeal guided him to destroy the Hindu temples and idols[36] and confiscate their property and distribute them among the neo-Muslims.[37] The Brahmans in thousands were put to the sword and the major portion of the Hindu population of Kashmir migrated to the south.[38] Equally gloomy was the reign of Sultan Ali Shah.[39] In such rough times what else could be more desirable than peaceful co-existence of different communities and protection of private property? In the invocation of Ganeśa also peace or *Vighna Śānti* is emphasized.[40] Jonarāja was an eye-witness to communal bigotry and he was aware of its repercussions.

Rinchin (A.D. 1320-1323), the Buddhist ruler of Kashmir wanted to adopt the Hindu religion of his subjects but Devasvāmī, the spiritual head of the Śaivas refused to admit him to the Hindu fold. So the king embraced Islam[41] and the sequal was the inauguration of the Sultanate of Kashmir. Jonarāja was conscious of this lesson of history. His recorded appreciation of Sultan Zain-ul-abidin was not a mere courtly courtesy or vain eulogy but it emerged from the core of his heart as the Sultan set himself to improve the material prosperity of the people irrespective of their religious affiliations, by energetic and sustained efforts.[42]

It is impossible to peruse the *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī* without realizing Jonarāja as a keen observer and impartial judge. His restraint is astoundingly remarkable. While describing the atrocities of Sultan Sikandar, Ali Shah or Suhabhaṭṭa and others he has not made a single repulsive comment. Neither he praises an undeserved ruler nor attempts at unjust criticism. From the historical viewpoint this attitude is highly commendable and desirable.

Finally his is a brave step indeed to write in Sanskrit at a time when Persian was on the ascent though he was well versed in both. His style is simple and free from decor, a novelty in Sanskrit writing. This work covers the reign of twenty-three rulers in 976 verses and the author is the eye-witness of the last three. The tales of tyranny, oppression, intrigues and cross intrigues, civil wars and natural calamities pervade the entire chronicle. Consequently, neither the *Śānta* nor the *Vīra rasa* but the *Karuṇa rasa* dominates. Jonarāja's death in A.D. 1459 brings the chronicle to an abrupt end but his desire expressed in verse seventeen that he only initiated a task with the hope that abler talents would persevere with and continue the process was not in vain. His task was continued by his worthy disciple Śrīvara[43] and other scholars. It is to the credit of Jonarāja that he set the tradition of historical writing once again in motion.

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13

VARIETY AND UNITY OF BUDDHIST THOUGHT AND PRACTICE

A.B.L. Awasthi

From the hoary antiquity sages have sought a way to escape the miseries of the world particularly relating to life and death. A high philosophy quite different from the Vedic rituals was first developed into hermitages of Āraṇyakas and then in the courts of Kṣatriya kings like Janaka and in course of time it led to the rise of a young Kṣatriya prince among the Śākyas of Kapilāvastu. He was Gautama-Siddhārtha—a preacher and a teacher. The geography of the Himalayan forests and their spiritual air enticed the mind of young Śākyan prince to soar high into realms of thought to justify his name of Siddhārtha.

The influences on Gautama's mind came from many directions and of the most important of these was the philosophy of Kapila, as well as that of Yājñavalkya and Janaka. It was this sea of thought which was to colour Gautama beyond recognition. He breathed the air of purest wisdom which was later developed by him into *Sambodhi*. His early interest in the philosophy of the Self and Yoga cannot be denied.[1] He too sought liberation, and a way to escape death. He dreamed to liberate the masses, who were denied the high philosophy of the Upaniṣads. Thus he dreamed to be a missionary even before he became enlightened. His personality has its spiritual and physical beauty which captivated people, princes and sages alike:

With thine own hues all thou dost
shine upon human thought or form.
Spirit of spirits, who through every part
Of space expanded and endless time.
Beyond the stretch of labouring thought sublime.

The philosophy of *amṛtattva* was transformed into a unique doctrine of his own called Buddhism which cut across the national frontiers and narrow circles of philosophical systems and religious sects to make this gospel a great universal religion. So he justified his long life's progress from Lumbini to Kuśinagara as a true Siddhārtha.

Like the radiant Sun, Gautama rose in the East destroying the dark horizon enveloped in the fog of confusion and conflicts:

Śākyātṁjaḥ Śākyamunīti nāmnā
Triloka-sāro jagataḥ pradīpaḥ.[2]

This was the divine light of Siddhārtha who removed the dark patches of dirt and dust cleaning heart and then instilling his gospel of universal brotherhood.

Divayāvadāna sings an interesting *gāthā*:

jvalanti sahitāṅgārā bhrātaraḥ sahitāstathā
pravibhaktā niśāmyanti yathāṅgārās tathā narāḥ.[3]

This *gathā* sung to inspire fraternal unity and universal brotherhood is very important in the present context, since it exihibits the picture of variety and unity of Buddhist thought and practice. A father asked his sons to bring wood (wooden sticks) and fire. They brought them. The father, again, asked them to burn the fire. They did so. The father asked each one of them to hold separately each burning wood-stick. They did the same and then the fire was extinguished.[4] It is styled *Agni-Nirvāṇa*,[5] which is the same as *Nara-Nirvāṇa* or salvation of men and women.

This *gathā* with the symbolic concept of *Agni-Nirvāṇa* not only throws light on *Abheda-darśana* among the community of brethern, but also stimulates the spirit of *Nara-Nirvāna*, i.e., *nirvāṇa* to be realized by human beings. It also preaches the gospel of unity and amity.

Śīkyamuni-pardīpa represents one sole light—divine light—which destroys ill-will and illusion. This very Lamp has been the source of other lamps—his disciples from Mahākaśyapa and Ananda to the present Dalai Lāmā or Panchen Lama, as well as all *arhatas* and Bodhisattvas like Aśvaghoṣa and Nāgarjuna and Buddhaghoṣa, etc.

When senses and organs of the human body are let loose to burn with the fire of worldly passion and possession, the union of human organism causes pain and suffering. When they are separated, they cease to function and so it is the state of *samyak-samādhi* or *nirvāṇa* and the fires burning within the human body caused by passion and lust are pacified. *Tṛṣṇa* (*Tantrā*) surrenders and *Sambodhi* triumphs. The essence of the *saddharma* preached in this very story runs thus : There are thousands of forms and features dear and desirable to human hearts full of passion and lust (*santi . . . rūpāṇīṣṭakāni kāntikāni priyāni . . . kāmopasaṁhitāni rañjanīyāni . . .*)[6] and these *rūpas* stir the mind destroying the roots of mental peace and real happiness which is *Nirvāṇa.*

"*Nirvāṇa* is a state of blown out flame—flame of three fires, namely, fire of lust, fire of ill-will, and fire of delusion, specially of the desire for individual existence (name and form, i.e. *nāmo-rūpa*). It means a total cessation of all evil passions and desires"[7]:

tanha khayo virāga
nirodho nibbānām.

Just as all roads lead to Rome, so all the shades of Buddhist thought and sects lead to the attainment of *nirvāṇa.*

The rise and growth of Buddhism represents a great monument of contemplation and contacts. It is a majestic building built during many epochs with the help of divine architects, and surmounted with the Lions roaring the message of *nirvāṇa* in all directions, and to all people irrespective of caste and colour.

It was built by the poets, philosophers, painters and sculptors, etc., who lavished their genius in expanding the horizon of the Buddha-*prabhā* (cf. Aśokan polished pillars).

The entire structure of this monumental building of Buddhism was raised during different ages and each age represents an important stage. All the stages and ages with a variety of decoration represent Śakyamuni and his religion despite different modes of thought, practice and cults.

One sole current of Buddhist Light runs throughout the network of routes running between India and the world. The Light of Lumbini is the main powerhouse to which all offer their salutations. It represents the unity and universal brotherhood among Buddhists of the world.

The variety of the Buddhist thought represented by languages, literature, art, religious sects and philosophical schools decorates only one person—the Śākyamuni. His discourses laid the foundations of Buddhist literature and philosophy which inspired poets and artists to show their own genius by singing songs to the glory of the Tathāgata. His disciples interpreted his doctrine according to the dictates of time and place. Buddhist logic, Yoga and meditation are the main unifying factors.

The path is the same as that of four *Arya-satyas* running between the two '*antas*' (ends) of life so as to make it *Madhyama-pratipadā*. *Dukkha-mimāṁsa* is also based on the *Pratityasamutpāda*, which inspires mind to destroy *tṛṣnā*, leading one to realize *nirvāṇa*.

Mauryan Emperor Aśoka, Satavāhanas, Kaniṣka and Huviṣka, Guptas and Harṣa as well as Govindachandra, etc., the royal patrons of Buddhism made great contribution in making this local religion a world religion of the present age.

The age of the Kushanas is marked by the rise and growth of Buddhism in Central Asia and China, and later on it penetrated into Korea and Japan.

The Mauryan emperor had already planted the Bodhi-tree in Ceylon, the *Suvarṇa-bhūmi*, which spread its branches in South East Asia, where it was mixed with Indian religion of Brahmanism—Śaivism and Śaktism. *Śakti-cult* and the worship of Kumāra (cf. Arya Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa) became prominent with the rise of Mantrayāna and Vajrayāna marked by the tantric practices of charms and spells.

From the very beginning the religion of the Buddha was a missionary enterprise and his disciples proved to be true missionaries of humanity preaching everywhere *karuṇā* and *maitrī*:

> यानीहि भूतानि समागतानि
> स्थितानि भूम्यामथवान्तरिक्षे,
> कुर्वन्तु मैत्रीं सततं प्रजासु
> दिवा च रात्रौ च चरन्तु धर्मम्[8]
> *Buddha-jñānam-anantaṁ hi*
> *ākāśa vipulaṁ samaṁ*[8]

The horizon of Buddhism and Buddhist thought is vast and varied. It is infinite and universal like the sky (*ākāṣaṁ iva vyāpakatvāt*). It is all pervasive and human, based on the Bodhi and Buddha-*darśana*.

The Buddha avoided philosophical preaching. But in the course of time his disciples laid the foundations of different philosophical schools all drawing inspirations from the Buddha-*bhāsita* truths, or gems of truth. Thus we observe in the vast firmament of Buddhism, the full moon shining and illuminating other stars. It is the *Sākyamuni-pradipa or* the Sun:

> नानाविधो रङ्गसहस्रचित्रो
> वक्रान्ततशनिष्क्रमितः कलाप ।
> अवभान्सिता येन दिशः समन्तात
> दिवाकरेणोदयता यथैव ।। [9]

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14

THE VAIṢNAVA ICONS FOUND IN 24-PARGANAS

Gourisankar De

The present district of 24-Parganas in West Bengal formed, in the past, parts of three regional divisions of ancient Bengal: Vaṇga, Gauḍa and Rāḍa. The district, claiming a hoary antiquity, felt successively the impact of the reign of the Mauryas, Śuṅgas, Kuṣāṇas, Guptas, Pālas and Senas, particularly in the cultural sphere, as is evident from archaeological sources.[1]

In the ancient period, the 24-Parganas was a confluence of diverse faiths: Jainism, Buddhism and Brahmanism.[2] The first two lost their ground long ago, but the third, with its three main streams—Śaivism, Śāktism and Vaiṣṇavism, is still a living force in the district.

Viṣṇu, the second of the Hindu Trinity, occupied a subordinate position in the Ṛgveda.[3] Only five or six hymns are dedicated to him.[4] His importance increased during the days of the Brahmans, the Epics and the Purānas. Finally, Viṣṇu was assigned the supreme status among the celestials.[5]

The worship of Viṣṇu, in different parts of India and in different form, dates back to an early period.[6] Vaiṣṇavism emerged as a force under the patronage of the Gupta monarchs.[7] The earliest reference to the Vaiṣṇava cult in Bengal is also met in a short record of the fourth century A.D.[8] It is a Sanskrit inscription engraved on the back-wall of a cave in a hill named Śuśunia in the Bankura district.

By 800 A.D. Vaiṣṇavism gained wide popularity in Bengal.[9] The Pāla monarchs, though Buddhists, were tolerant of other faiths.[10] Hence, Vaiṣṇavism, along with other cults, flourished under their rule.

The Sena Kings, who hailed from South India and settled in Bengal, were protectors of Brahmanism. Vaisṇavism developed a new creative spirit under their active patronage.[11]

Under the vigorous rule of the Pāla and the Sena dynasty there evolved in Bengal (A.D. 800-1200) a new school of art, genetically related to the older Gupta school of Sarnath.[12] Most of the sculptures, belonging to this school, were carved out of a sort of black stone (*kashti-pāthar*) quarried in the Rajmahal hills.[13] Of course, metal images cast in brass or octo-alloy (*ashtadhatu*) of eight metals (copper, tin, lead, antimony, zinc, iron, gold and silver) and one or two gold and silver images were also known.[14]

The present 24-Parganas, in the past, was a stronghold of Vaiṣṇavism. This is evident from the large number of Vaiṣṇava icons found from different parts of the district. The icons include different forms of Viṣṇu and his *Avatāras* (incarnations), his vehicle (*vāhan*) Garuḍa, Laksmināräyana, and Viṣṇupattas.

The earliest Vaiṣṇava icons, so far discovered in 24-Parganas, are few terracotta figurines discovered from Chandraketugarh and Harinarayanpur, two very important archaeological sites of West Bengal (both the spots are in 24-Parganas). The clay figurines envisaging Kṛṣṇa playing on flute (Venu Kṛṣṇa) may be stylistically assigned to the Gupta period. Half a dozen figurines of this type are now in the collection of this writer.

Some small rectangular plaques in black slate showing standing Viṣṇu, almost primitive in vigour and two dimensional in form, were discovered from Boral and Khari, two very ancient sites.[15] They are illustrations of the early Pāla art of the eighth century A.D. Few stone images of Viṣṇu were recovered from a large old tank named Sendighi at Boral (P.S. Sonarpur).[16] One large image of Viṣṇu is supposed to belong to the Pāla period.

A Viṣṇu image (sandstone) of the eighth century A.D.[17] and a Viṣṇu *pādapadma* (stone footprints) were collected from the ruins of the ancient temple of Tripurasundari at Boral.[18] A large image of Vāsudeva Viṣṇu, about 107 cm. high, was recovered from a tank at Boral.[19] The image is now worshipped as a household deity of a Basu family in the same village.

Several fine stone-images of Viṣṇu Nṛsiṁha and a rare Viṣṇu-*Chakra*, have been discovered from the village of Sarisadaha (P.S. Jayanagar).[20] Villages like Nalgora have also yielded some Viṣṇu images of the Gupta period.[21]

A bronze image of Viṣṇu, of 24-Parganas, exhibits four-tiered courses capped by one *Āmalaka Śilā*.[22] This image, now preserved in the Smithsonian Institute, U.S.A. throws interesting light on one of the types of temple building that was prevalent in ancient Bengal.

A Viṣṇu image 107 cm. (3.5 ft.) high, was rescued from the bed of the Sarasvati river flowing through the Sunderbans. It was presented to the Indian Museum by J.H. Reily, on 25 January, 1877.[23] A fine Viṣṇu image 152 cm. (5 ft.) high was discovered at Sarisadaha. It is an excellent work of the chisel carved out of a very hard basalt stone.[24] According to the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* of Hemādri, the image is to be classed as Vāsudeva, the male attendant on its left (a personified *chakra*) as Lambodara and the female attendant on its right (a personified *Gadā*) as Sulochanā. The present image is a *yogasthānakamūrti* of Viṣṇu. The deity stands on a *navaratha* pedestal. What is significant is that in the extreme corner of the relief composition are carved two other *Āyudhas* personified, *Sankhapurusa* with his right hand in the *vyakhāna* pose and his left hand holding a lotus with a long stalk on whose pericarp there is a tiny conch-shell and the *Padmapurusa* with his right hand in *abhayamudrā* and his left hand holding a long-stalk lotus. The two *Āyudhapurusas* replace the divine consorts, Śri and *Pusti*. There is a tiny ascetic-like figure of the donor on the extreme left corner of the pedestal.

In the Gajamuri section of the village Khari (P.S. Mathurapur) there is, in the house of Jadunath Thakur, a Viṣṇu image, about 90 cm. (3 ft.) high, found in excavating a tank.[25] The Viṣṇu image is of the usual four-armed type, holding a *śankha* (conch) in the lower right hand, a *gadā* (mace) in the upper left and a *chakra* (disc) in the lower left hand. According to the description of the *Agripurāna*, two miniature bronze images of Viṣṇu, 33 cm. (13 inches) high, have been discovered from a place near Math-bāri.[26]

There are some Muslim tombs in a village named Kazirdanga. From this place late Kalidas Datta recovered a stone medallion or '*chakra*' of quite a novel design bearing a figure of Viṣṇu dancing on Garuḍa.[27] The border consists of two rings of floral design with twelve lozenge-shaped spokes between them. The medallion is of about 45 cm. diameter and is carved exactly alike on its two faces and stands on a base shaped like the lotus capital of a pillar. The piece of sculpture represents Viṣṇu in the attitude of a dance with the legs bent and the upper two hands raised above the head as if clapping, while the lower two hold respectively a *gadā* and a *chakra*. The representation of a dancing Viṣṇu is indeed a rare specimen. Viṣṇu is decorated with *vanamālā*, ear-rings and armlets and a turban on the head. Garuḍa is carved as kneeling with folded hands and wings outspread, over which Viṣṇu is dancing. Śiva as Natarāja is well known, particularly in South India. But, no other parallel to this peculiar image, Viṣṇu Natarāja, has been found anywhere else in India. "This *Chakradvaja*, embellished with ecstatic dancing figure keeping time with clapping hands must have stood in front of a Viṣṇu temple since destoryed."[28]

A remarkable stone image of Viṣṇu, about 13 cm. high and richly carved was found at Kankandighi. It is now in the house of a cultivator in the Srifaltali section of the village.[29] A beautiful torso of Viṣṇu (basalt) was collected by Kalidas Datta from a place near Jatar Deul (a famous old temple of 24-Parganas) and is now in the Asutosh Museum.[30] There is a fine image of Viṣṇu (basalt) in front of the Brahmamayī Kālī temple at Mulajor.[31]

A miniature Viṣṇu, from the Sundarbans, originally in the collection of Kalidas Datta, and now in the Asutosh Museum, belongs to *c*. tenth-eleventh century A.D.[32] This is a very well-carved miniature figure of Viṣṇu and the sculptor seems to have closely followed the details of the *Navatāla* mode.[33] A standing Viṣṇu with a seven-hooded snake-canopy has been found in the north-western Sundarbans.[34] Two stone images of Ananta Nārāyana from Lot No. 10 belong to the Pāla period and are iconographically interesting.[35]

In a garden, north of the temple of Rādhā-Vallabha of Jayanagar, a fine black-stone image of Viṣṇu about 76 cm. high was dug out and was in the possession of a person named Gopal Chandra Sarkar.[35] A door-step, made of black stone, of Śiva temple at Khardah (P.S. Khardah) portrays Viṣṇu lying on Añanta Nāga. The scene is carved in relief. Probably, the door-step was collected from an ancient shrine and later used in the present temple.

A Viṣṇu image about 76 cm. high of the usual *chaturbhuja* (four-armed) type was found at Madpur and is kept in the house of Bhutnath Chakravarti.[36] It is said that this image is identical with Śri Śri Nilmādhab, mentioned by Mukundarām, the celebrated poet of medieval Bengal.[37]

According to *Agni Purāna* and *Padma Purāna*, this is an image of Trivikrama Viṣṇu but according to the *Biddhānta Samhitā* of Hemādri, this is an image of Upendra.[38]

Two Viṣṇu images have been found from Kantabenia.[39] A stone image of Viṣṇu was collected from Patharpratima (P.S. Mathurapur).[40]

A unique Viṣṇu image was found while excavating a tank in Lot 10, P.S. Kakadvip and was presented to Kalidas Datta.[41] The deity is represented as wearing a long garland reaching the knees and having four hands. The upper right hand holds a *chakra*, the lower right hand rests against a full-blown lotus and is in *varada-mudrā*. The left upper hand holds a lotus and the left lower hand which also rests on a full-blown lotus, holds a conch. Two female figures in *samapādasthānaka* pose are on two sides. Their right hands are in *varada-mudrā* and the left hands hold stalks terminating in lotuses. The group stands on a plate the edge of which is decorated with lotus leaf motif. There is no *vāhana* or devotee. What is significant in the sculpture is the figure of a seven-headed serpent hood with a spring over it which forms a canopy over Viṣṇu's head. There is no aureole and the back slab is flat at the top, with raised fillets on either side of Viṣṇu. The face of the image with part of its *mukuta* is badly damaged. It is decorated with many ornaments, e.g., *kundala*, necklace, bracelet, armlet, etc. Two flying *Gandharvas* carrying garlands occupy the two two top corners.

Four Viṣṇu images of black shale, each with four hands, were unearthed from the ruins of the temple of Govindapore, Lot No. 114 (P.S. Mathurapur).[42] The images are still in the *garbhagṛha* of the ruined temple. The height of one of the Viṣṇu images is about 122 cm. and that of the two other about 102 cm. each, while the fourth one is about 97 cm. in height.

The present writer has discovered and collected a broken stone image of Viṣṇu, a Bālagopāl (basalt) from Krishnachandrapur (P.S. Mathurpur) and an image of Kṛṣṇa (bronze) from Katandighi (P.S. Mathurapur).

A stone Viṣṇu (*Trivikrama*), belonging to the Pāla period, was found from the Sundarbans and is now in the collection of Amal Kumar Dutt, the son of late Kalidas Datta, the scholar Zamindar of Majilpur.[43]

A stone Viṣṇu (*Trivikrama*), belonging to the eleventh-twelfth century A.D., has been found from Krsihnachandrapur (P.S. Mathurapur).

An image of Viṣṇu (basalt), has been recovered from Sitā-Mā Pukur of Sitākundu Mouza (P.S. Baruipur).[44] The image which is of Srīdhar Viṣṇu may be assigned to the eleventh-twelfth century A.D. and is now placed in the house of a villager of Atghara (P.S. Baruipur).

A four-armed image of Viṣṇu (sand-stone) has been discovered from Barisa (South 24-Parganas).[45] According to the *Bratakhanda* of Hemādri, the said image is that of *Trivikrama Viṣṇu*.[46]

There are photographs of two Viṣṇu images of the eleventh and twelfth century respectively belonging to 24-Parganas in Bṛhat Vanga by Dinesh Chandra Sen.[47] There is the photograph of a Viṣṇu (stone), a find of 24-Parganas and of the eleventh century A.D. in *Prāchin Bangālā Sāhityer Itihās* (Bengali) by Tamonash Chandra Dasgupta.[48] An old image of Viṣṇu was found in a pond at Abjangarh, a village near Chandra-Ketugarh (P.S. Deganga).[49]

A stone image of Viṣṇu was discovered in course of digging a tank in Dakshin Para of Barasat.[50] There is a large standing image of Viṣṇu (sand-stone) at Jaleśvar (P.S. Gaighata) upon a huge mound, supposed to conceal the ruins of an old temple.[51] A stone image of Viṣṇu was found from the river Paddā, an offshoot of the Yamunā, and is now worshipped in Muchipara at Ranidanga (P.S. Habra), near Machchlandpur.

Several Viṣṇu images (basalt), broken images of Lakshmi, Viṣṇu (basalt), etc, have been discovered from the dried up bed of the river Paddā from Maniktala, Habra (P.S. Habra). The present writer collected a broken image of Lakshmi (basalt) from the same spot. The deity originally formed the part of a Viṣṇu image. The most important icon found from the site is a huge, four-armed Viṣṇu flanked by Śri and Pusti on two sides. On the top there is carved a Kirtimukha on the left and right side of which there are two flying Vidyādhar carrying away garlands. The image is an excellent specimen of Pāla sculpture.

An image of Viṣṇu (black stone) was found while digging a tank at Bagnihati (P.S. Rajarhat) and is now worshipped in the temple of Gorakhnath at Arjunpur, near Dum Dum Nagar Bazar.[52]

An image of Viṣṇu (basalt) and a stone pedestal have been recovered from Dolpiḍi of Najarnagar (P.S. Haroa).[53] Two Viṣṇu images (stone), one from Singerber, and another from Bhatenda near Barrackpur have been recovered.[54]

A sandstone head of Viṣṇu of the Gupta period from Behala and a basalt Viṣṇu image from Barisha belonging to the thirteenth century A.D. are on display at the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[55]

One of the unique treasures of the Asutosh Museum is a copper plate of Dommanpala dated A.D. 1196. It was disovered by D.P. Ghosh in the wilderness af the Sundarbans.[56] Its iconographical and aesthetic interests are quite significant. The engraving on the plate consists of a Vaiṣṇavite group, a sitting Viṣṇu with the usual emblems in hands, and an adoring devotee. Pāla and Sena sculpture abounds with many upright standing figures of Viṣṇu but scarcely any seated image is known. The deity, in question, in *latitāsana* pose, does not rest on the familiar pedestal of double lotus flowers (*mahāmbujapītha*) but on a *ratha*, flanked by a combined *chhatra* and *ketana*.

The above-mentioned engraving on the copper plate discovered from Rakhaskhali (F. Plot) is unique in India.[57] Scholars think that this style of graphic art of Bengal probably influenced the development of schools of painting in contemporary and late medieval Burma, Siam, Java and Indo-China.[58]

In addition to the images of Viṣṇu, there are images of his *Avatāras* (incarnations). Several Narasiṁha images and a Rāma-Lakshmana plaques have been found in 24-Parganas. The worship of the *Avataras* of Viṣṇu is an important feature of Bhāgavatism in the Gupta Age. There is a reference to the Narasiṁha (Man-lion) incarnation of Viṣṇu in the late *Taittiriya Aranyaka*. The cult gained popularity in the age of the *Mahābhārata*. King Laksmanasena is described as *Paramanarasiṁha*.

A Nṛsiṁha image was taken from Sarisadah to the Indian Museum by Ramprasad Chanda.[59] A stone image of Nṛsiṁha about 61 cm. (2 ft.) high was unearthed at Sarisadah in the tank of the Kutchery of the late Surendra Nath Dutta of Majilpur.[60] The image is now in the Calcutta Museum. A sand-stone plaque of Nṛsiṁha was collected from Kuldia, in P.S. Magrahat.[61] The Nṛsiṁha plaque measuring about 38 cm × 36 cm × 6 cm and made of stone is a rare specimen. On the Sundarban plate of Dommanapāla, there is a *Nṛsiṁha-murti*, one of the twenty-four variant forms of Viṣṇu.[62] D.C. Sircar thinks that the twenty-four variant forms of Viṣṇu may have their origin in the Jain convention of the twenty-four *Tīrthankaras*.[63] One stone and one bronze image of Nṛsiṁha are in the temple of Tripurasundarī at Chhatrabhog.[64] A Rāma-Lakshama plaque of the early medieval period comes from Kartikpur (24-Pargans) and is now in the Asutosh Museum.[65]

A broken image of Lakshmī-Nārāyana (basalt) has been found from a pond named 'Lalbag' in the village of Basabati (P.S. Haroa).[66] The goddess Lakshmī is represented sitting on the left thigh of Viṣṇu. The image bears a close resemblance to the images of Umā-Maheśvara. Lakshmī-Nārāyana images are extremely rare. Hence, the image of Basabati is very significant. It is also a fine specimen of sculpture.

A stone image of Garuḍa has been found from Kachubedia.[67] A Garuḍa capital was recovered from Jalghata by late Ramaprasad Chanda.[68] Garuḍa, the mythical king of birds, the relentless destroyer of snakes, the carrier of Viṣṇu is a well-known figure in Brahmanic and Buddhist Iconography (*Suparṇa*). His place was among the demi-gods, although, on special occasions he received independent worship. It was an act of merit to place the image of Garuḍa in a Viṣṇu temple. Many square slabs of stone or metal with the image of Viṣṇu on one side and his ten incarnations on the other in a circular order have been discovered. They are appropriately called Viṣṇupattas. Most probably they are the *Yantras* used by the Tāntric Vaiṣṇavas. One fine specimen of Viṣṇupatta hails from Khari,[69] Sundarbans. The State Archaeological Gallery, West Bengal, collected a stone *Viṣṇu-Patta* (123 cm x 12.3 cm) of about eleventh century A.D. from Jayangar (P.S. Jayanagar).[70]

Viṣnupattas form a special class of votive relics. They are undoubtedly the specimens of very inferior sculpture. Probably, they were kept in large number in Viṣṇu temples to be sold to poorer devotees or pilgrims at cheap rates. The devotees or pilgrims would carry one home as a memento of their visit to the temple and hang it on the mat-wall of their dwellings, as a sacred object to receive occasional homely worship.[71]

A small image of a four-handed Sarasvatī, carved on a stone, belonging to *c*. eleventh century A.D., has been discovered from Boral (P.S. Sonarpur).[72] By her two hands she is playing a *vinā*; the upper right hand is wearing *aska-sutra* ; the symbol of the upper left hand is indistinct. A swan is carved on the pedestal of the goddess. A standing *vinā*-playing Sarasvatī of the same century, and hailing from the Sundarbans is a beautiful specimen of the sculptural art of Bengal.[73] The first image is now preserved in the State Archaeological Gallery, West Bengal. The second image originally formed part of a Viṣṇu image.

A Lakṣmī (black stone) hails from Krishnachandrapur (P.S. Mathurapur) and belongs to the eleventh century A.D.[74] The goddess wears ornaments like *muktā kundala*, *keur*, *kankan*, etc., and is a beautiful specimen of the Seṇa sculptre. The sculptural piece was originally a part of a large image of Viṣṇu. There is an ancient bronze Lakṣmī in the temple of Ambuling Śiva at Barasat (P.S. Mathurapur).[75] The existence of an independent image of Lakṣmī indicates that the goddess was worshipped as cult image.

The icons of Viṣṇu are by far the most numerous images that are found all over Bengal. This is evident from the finds of 24-Parganas alone. The large number of Vaiṣṇava icons indicate the wide popularity of Viṣṇu, his associates, and symbols in the ancient period. The icons also represent a precious part of the rich art-heritage of ancient Bengal.

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15

ON SOME INTERESTING POST-COLOPHON STATEMENTS OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS PRESERVED IN THE ASIATIC SOCIETY LIBRARY

Manabendu Banerjee.

The Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, is a rich treasure-house of Sanskrit manuscripts. It possesses more than fifty thousand Sanskrit manuscripts; a great number of them are of immense scholarly interest. Texts, subject-matters, palaeography. etc., of Sanskrit manuscripts have been and are often being studied by scholars, but no valuable research has been done on the owners and copyists of manuscripts. The post-colophon statements in Sanskrit manuscripts supply us occasionally with interesting information about the owners as well as copyists of manuscripts, high regard in which manuscripts were generally held, sale and presentation of manuscripts, etc.

The post-colophon statements are generally in Sanskrit, but often mixed up with colloquial Bengali or other regional languages. Usually they contain dates, particular *tithi* (during which they were copied), deities the copyists were devoted to, and residential localities and personal names of scribes. These items are more or less clearly recorded in the post-colophon statements. The names of the place and of the copyist are usually put together. The expressions are: *likhitaṁ kāśyāṁ viśvombhareṇa* (5119), *kāśyāṁ viśvambharasannidhau likhitaṁ* (192), etc. Many of the manuscripts of the Asiatic Society are seen to have been copied in Varanasi. Bāla Mukunda and Raghunātha Mālavīya were two prominent copyists of manuscripts residing at Varanasi (5266, 5360); many manuscripts copied by them are preserved in the Asiatic Society Library; copying and collecting of manuscripts were perhaps their profession. According to Professor Anantalal Thakur, Varanasi was a business centre of Sanskrit manuscripts. From there dealers in manuscripts came to Bengal and sold a large number of manuscripts many of which were later procured by the Asiatic Society.

Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa was another prominent copyist residing at Varanasi. He was himself a poet. While copying the *Gītagiriśakāvyam* of Rāmabhaṭṭa, he declares himself as a poet (*kavinā lakṣmīnārāyaṇena kāśyām*, etc.—5216). His name as a scribe appears in at least five post-colophons (of manuscripts Nos. 5263, 5264, 5638, 5745 and 5749). He was an enthusiastic manuscript collector and at the same time he composed at least fifteen poems including *Devīmahimnaḥstotra* (5653), *Nīrājanastotra* (5654), *Gaṅgālaharīśataka* (5671), *Kāśīratnamālā* (5769). That he was a man of importance is evidenced by a biographical poem, named *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇakāvyam*, based on his life and composed by one Devīprasāda (5433).

Sometimes the post-colophon statements contain signatures of copyists and in these cases, the copyists themselves seem to be the owners of the manuscripts, as is seen from the statements like *śrīkṛṣṇaśormaṇaḥ svākṣaraṁ pustakañca* (4970), *śrīrāmanāyaṇadevaśarmaṇaḥ svākṣaraṁ pustakañca* (5035). Names of owner or owners of manuscripts are also recorded in some post-colophon statements. Thus a manuscript of the Ṛgveda is seen to have six owners (123). A manuscript of the *Punarādheyasaṁgraha* is specifically mentioned as belonging to Rāmacandradeva, elder son of Mahādeva (350). When we see a manuscript being copied by the ten sons of Benīrāma Panta (5363), it appears that Benīrāma was in great need of the manuscript and so he employed his sons to expedite the act of copying. Śrī Kānti Caraṇa, son of Durgā Caraṇa, after the latter's death, lived on the banks of the Ganges. During the auspicious period of *Devīpakṣa* he copied the *Vidvanmodataraṅginī* (5427) most probably for his personal use.

Pet names of owners and copyists are very often used in the post-colophon statements, such as, *guṇe ityupanāmaka Pāṇḍuraṅgabhaṭṭasya idaṁ pustakam* (5690) ; *brahmopanāmnā* (288); *bhole ityupanāmaka-bhikaṁ-bhaṭṭena likhitaṁ* (2236), etc.

The spellings of names or days in some post-colophons are erroneous. It appears that the copyists in these cases were professionals, not acquainted with the letters ; they used to copy what they saw, not bothering about the correctness of the scripts. Thus the spellings like *sanīvāra*—सनीवार (4954), Kṛṣṇa—क्रीस्न (4948), Śukra—सुक्र (4948) are not in conformity with the usual spellings. These might also be local spellings.

On the other hand, educated copyists were not bold enough to correct the errors in the old and popular manuscripts, though they were aware of these errors. In such cases they used to record apologetic statements in post-colophon portions to justify themselves for the retention of the erroneous parts of the manuscripts from which they copied. Thus a favourite expression used by the copyists in the post-colophon statements is—*yathā dṛṣṭaṁ tathā likhitaṁ lekhake nāsti dūṣaṇam* (6110). Copyists often committed errors due to ignorance and carelessness, but they were conscious of it. So they humbly sought to be pardoned by the large-hearted savants. It was not unnatural for a person to make errors when he had been suffering from unmindfulness, or not in a position to decipher some illegible letters of manuscripts. On such occasions, the post-colophon statements run thus:

> *yad atra bhrāntyā likhitaṁ viruddham |*
> *vimarṣitavyaṁ khalu tat sudhīraiḥ ||* (6305, 6942).
> *yad atihṛdayvegāl lekhanībhrāntibhāvāt*
> *nayanavacanasaṁjñāśrotraśabdāvalambāt |*
> *likhitaṁ akṛtabuddhyā yanmayā pustake'smin*
> *karakṛtam aparādhaṁ kṣantum arhantu santaḥ ||* (318, 694).

Of these types of statements, the most popular verse is:

> *yādṛśaṁ pustake dṛṣṭaṁ tādṛśaṁ likhitaṁ mayā |*
> *yadi śuddham aśuddhaṁ vā mama doṣo na dīyate ||* (289, 306, 398).

This verse perhaps intends to state that the copyists were not always competent enough to discriminate *śuddha* or *aśuddha*, in the manuscripts and they used to defend themselves by this oft-quoted verse. Again, a scribe in his note states that if any error is found in the manuscript copied by him, he is not to be blamed, because the responsibility in this case lies on the manuscript which he has copied:

> *yat pustakam avalokya pustakam etan mayā lekhi |*
> *atratyaṁ yad aśuddhaṁ tad vijñeyaṁ tadīya-doṣeṇa ||* (5330)

Thereafter he affirms that this flaw reflected from the original manuscript (*ādarśajanitadoṣa*) will not, however, restrain the learned readers from understanding the import of the text (*na hi vādhate sudhiyām*).

Copyists are often seen to have apologized for copying erroneously due to ignorance, perturbance of mind and careless writing of the original manuscripts:

> *santo mama doṣaṁ na gṛhnantu*
> *ajñānāt cittaviksepād athavā lipidoṣataḥ |*
> *aśuddhaṁ yan mayālekhi tat kṣamantu manīṣiṇaḥ ||* (5177)

> *ādarśadoṣāt smṛtivibhramād vā*

yad arthahīnaṁ likhitaṁ mayādya |
tat sarvam āryaiḥ pariṣodhanīyaṁ
prāyeṇa muhyanti hi ye likhanti || (4077)

There were various motives behind copying manuscripts; sometimes the purpose was to preserve manuscripts in the possession of the copyists themselves. Thus, states one post-colophon : *śrīkṛṣnamaṇi-devaśarmaṇo lipir iyaṁ pustakañca* (4956). On some occasions manuscripts were copied for the use of the copyists as well as of others—*likhitaṁ svārthaṁ parārthañca* (2065). Again manuscripts were copied for the utilization of the present and future family members of the scribes, as is expressed by the statements like *ātmapṭhanārthaṁ tathā putrapautrapaṭhanārtham* (951), *bhrātṛ-viśvanāthādhyayanārtham* (1415), *putrasya paṭhanārthaṁ ca jayakṛṣṇasya dhīmataḥ|dilīpanagare tena likhitaṁ pāninā śubham ||* (4985), *laghubhrātṛṇāṁ paṭhanārtham* (5335). A manuscript of the commentary of the *Śatarañjakuthala* (85), a work on the game of chess, is stated to have been copied for the benefit of the students of a primary school: *likhitaṁ idaṁ śrīmad |akṣarapāṭha-śālāvidyārthinām upakṛtaye.* A manuscript of Śaṅkarācharya's *Saundaryalaharī* was copied by one Mukundarāma for the study of a lady named Jayantīdevī (6682).

When manuscripts were copied solely for the use of others, the copyists were most probably professional writers and they were paid for the copying. In such cases the statements are: *śibadāsapaṭhanārtham* (4959), *munināRāyaṇapaṭhanārtham* (4960), *cāṅgadevapaṇḍitasyarithe likhitaṁ* (4948). About getting money for copying, we see a scribe gets one rupee for copying a manuscript of *Kulārṇava*; he states that in the coming year, his daughter's marriage is to be held; so he is perhaps trying to collect money for that purpose by copying manuscripts (5038). This statement is written in local Bengali. A manuscript of the *Padmapurāṇa* (*Pātālakhaṇḍa*) belonging to one Viśvanātha is stated to have been sold for seven rupees—*dattā vai mudrikā sapta granthasyāsya ca mānataḥ*—(3474). This comparatively high price was for the big volume of the manuscript. In another post-colophon statement, reference is made to the sale of a manuscript of the *Gītagovinda* for ten annas only to one Rāmkrishna Sharma (5166). A manuscript of the *Āpastombaśrautasūtra* was purchased by one Vaidyanāth on payment of money for his personal study and the witness in this affair was one Upādhyāya (514). A copy of the manuscript of *Āgrayanasūtra* was purchased by one Vaijanātha on payment of money—*idaṁ pustakaṁ vaijanāthena maulyaṁ dattvā gṛhītam* (574). In this case the exact price is not recorded.

Exchange of manuscripts was also in practice. Thus a manuscript of *Prabodhacandrodaya* was sold by one Vidyālaṅkara to one Ānandarāma ; the latter again gave it to Gauracaraṇa Devaśarmā in exchange for a copy of *Rasāmṛtasindhu* (5318).

Teachers often copied manuscripts for teaching young pupils (*bālānām avabodhanāya*—490). Students were sometimes ordered by their teachers to copy manuscripts for personal use of the latter (5089). Sometimes manuscripts were copied for the members of a society and the use of public (269), and thus when manuscripts were preserved in a safe place, the latter must have been regarded as a manuscript library. After the completion of copying a manuscript, it was sometimes read out before the public (5045). Reference to the dictation of a manuscript and writing by another is also seen in a post-colophon statement—*ācārya-śri-vidyādevena likhāpitaṁ likhitañca kāyastha-śrī-tathāgata-devena|* (5053). A scribe named Bhavānī Caraṇa Śarmā states that at the order of the Brahmin Prāṇanātha, he swiftly copied a manuscript of *Manusaṁhitā* (1853) ; in this connection the post-colophon portion includes a genealogical list of Prāṇantha, his native place and the river on the banks of which he lived. These types of statements help us form an idea about some respected manuscript lovers.

Manuscripts were generally procured and copied with hard labour, as is expressed by the statements:

pustikā caiṣā duḥkhena likhyate mayā (1976) ;
arjitaṁ bhūrikaṣṭena likhitaṁ pustakaṁ mayā (1503, 2441, 2180, 6062).

Again when a scribe states

pustaka-lekhana-pariśrama-vettā vidvajjano nānyah |
sāgara-laṅghana-khedaṁ hanūmān ekaḥ paraṁ vedaḥ || (2113),

he certainly thinks of the great trouble he had to bear to copy manuscripts. While copying manuscripts, the scribe has to go through physical sufferings and so he wishes that the manuscripts are to be carefully preserved. It is natural that though manuscripts do not always belong to the scribes, the latter, having copied these with much labour, obviously feel some affection for the manuscripts. So he says:

bhagnapṛṣṭha-kaṭigrīvaḥ stabdhadṛṣtir adhomukhaḥ |
kaṣṭena likhitaṁ granthaṁ yatnena pratipālaya || (324, 358).

Since the copying of manuscripts required much manual labour and the owners had to spend money for procuring them, the owners were afraid of their being stolen by some interested persons for their personal use or for probably selling them to others. In such cases, the post-colophon statements contain very harsh words and scorching curses against those people who might be tempted to steal manuscripts ; vulgar abuses were bestowed on them, and their wives and parents were also put to revilement:

idaṁ harati yo mūḍhaḥ tasya tātaḥ paśur dhruvam (4975);
yatnād ātmamanoharārtham alikhaṁ yaś corayet pustākam |
tad bhāryaṁ sudatīṁ śasāṅkavadanām nīcā haruvam || (5359);
netavyā pustikā caiṣā duḥkhena likhyate mayā |
śūkarī tasya māta syāt pitā tasya ca gardabhaḥ || (1976);
cauryeṇa nītvā viṣam eva bhuktvā pitrā ca gūthaṁ saha nārakī syāt | (5589);
pustakaṁ yatnena likhitaṁ | yena hrinīyate sa ucuhūaṁ jayate | (5596)
yatnena likhitaṁ granthaṁ yadi kaścid apahnūte puṁścalī jananī tasya | (1985).

These statements remind us of the imprecatory verses of the land grants and thus speak of the importance of manuscripts. Fake manuscripts were also in vogue, as is evidenced from a scribe's reference to *lipijāla* (5323). Scribes generally desired long duration of genuine manuscripts ; during the time of copying, if any confusion arose about the genuineness, there were some scribes who consulted other manuscripts. Thus while copying a manuscript of the *Ṛgvedapadapātha* (136), the scribe says:

aparaṃ pustakam vīkṣya sodhanāya sadā budhaiḥ |
kināḍhikaḥ sadā bāṇair asmākaṁ dūṣaṇaṁ nahi ||

The materials on which manuscripts were written were generally of fragile nature and so great care was taken to the preservation of manuscripts. In a post-colophon statements, the copyist appeals to all concerned to protect the manuscript (of 1145 A.D.) from all calamities and this, according to him, is obviously a religious duty; he further adds that the well-preservation of it will bestow fortune on all:

samāptā ceyaṁ smṛtimañjarī | . . .
saṁśodhanīyaṁ rakṣaṇīyaṁ ca sarvapramādebhyaḥ |
anena puṇyena śubhaṁ bhavatu sarvasattvānām | (1924).

Manuscripts are required to be protected from oil, water and loose binding; they should also be protected from persons who are ignorant of handling manuscripts. So the well-known post-colophon statement in this context is:

tailād rakṣej jalād rakṣet rakṣecchithilabandhanāt |
mūrkhahaste na dātavyam evaṁ vadati pustakam || (242)

A copyist requests all to see that a manuscript of the *Baudhayana sutra* is not damaged by water or similar things:

> *sūtraṁ baudhāyanaṁ sadbhī rakṣṇīyaṁ jalāditaḥ* (562).

How manuscripts were esteemed is expressed in the statements : *sakala-dūritahartī pustikā* (717), *yāvaccandraśca sūryaśca yāvattiṣṭhati medinī / jayatāttāvad evāyaṁ granthaḥ sajjanavāñcitaḥ //* (843). Such expressions raise the manuscript to the position of a deity. A scribe named Rādhākānta Śarmā, copied a manuscript of *Kṛtyatattvārṇava* (2139). After his father died, he sought favour from the copied manuscript for which he showed great regard thus:

> *eṣa granthaḥ pitṛpādavicchedād dīnacetasam /*
> *adhyapayitum icchantam anuṛhnatu māṁ natam //* (2139)

A prayer is offered to the god for very long duration of a manuscript:

> *yāval lavaṇa samudro yāvan nakṣatramaṇḍito meruḥ /*
> *yāvaccandrā-dityau tāvad idampustakaṁ jayatu* (2146, 6140).

Copyists and owners considered manuscripts to be treasures more valuable than anything. A post-colophon statement expresses in a fine way how a manuscript is to be taken care of. The verse states that a manuscript is to be ornamented like one's beloved child; to be protected like one's chaste wife from others' hand; to be treated like a wounded limb of one's body; to be dealt with everyday like an intimate friend; to be bound up tightly with forceful thread as in the case of a prisoner; and to be remembered like the name of Hari. If one does thus, a manuscript never becomes tormented. It is said to be the opinion of the elders:

> *sambhūṣyaṁ sadapatyavat rakṣyañca sukṣetravat*
> *saṁśodhyaṁ vraṇitāṅgavat pratidinaṁ vīkṣyañca sanmitravat /*
> *badhyaṁ badhyavad aślethaṁ dṛḍaguṇaiḥ smaryaṁ harer māmavat*
> *naivaṁ sīdati pustakaṁ kila kadāpyetad gurūṇāṁ vacaḥ //* (360).

Some post-colophon statements contain prayers for the well-being of all, including the copyists, readers and owners of manuscripts:

> *lekhaka-pāṭhakayoḥ śubhaṁ bhavatu* (296, 325, 844);
> *maṅgalaṁ lekhakānāñca vācakānāñca maṅgalam /*
> *maṅgalam sarvalokānām bhūmi-bhūpati-maṅgalam //* (444)
> (alt. reading—*bhūmau bhūpati-maṅgalam*—3990);
> *rājā svasti prajāḥ svasti deśāḥ svasti tathaiva ca /*
> *yajamānagṛhe svasti svasti go-brāhmaṇeṣu ca //* (2113).

The varied types of verses referred to above are found at the end of manuscripts of different parts of this country. The source of these verses are not known. The copyists themselves perhaps composed many or all of these verses, and because of their relevance these became very much popular and were accepted and incorporated by other copyists.

The post-colophon statements in general and in the manuscripts of the Asiatic Society in particular thus give us informative and interesting accounts of the high regard given to the manuscripts and care taken for them. At the same time they throw some light on the life and status of the copyists who were not always men of position, but ordinary people following the profession of manuscript copying. We get from these statements a picture of a section of middle class people who had devoted themselves to the pious job of copying manuscripts and in this way they contributed much to satisfy the need and appetite of the men of learning. So the post-colophon statements in manuscripts should be a subject of critical study, for; from these we will be able to form an idea of the socio-religious atmosphere of the times of the copyists.

16

A SECTION OF AN EARLY PORTABLE SHRINE FROM GANDHĀRA[1]

John C. Huntington

A quarter section from a very small portable shrine (Figures 1-5)[2], now in the Peshawar Museum[3] sheds some light on both the history of the portable shrine and on certain Buddhist practices that, simply because of the existence of this particular shrine, are sure to have been known in the Gandhāran region. Portable shrines have raised considerable interest among scholars and collectors and numerous publications treating them or illustrating examples of them have been carried out in the past.[4] Most importantly, although it would have been rather easy to argue that such shrines had an Indic and possibly north-western Indic, i.e., the regions between Bactria to Kashmir, origin, no early examples have been previously reported that would provide physical evidence to support such an argument. The reason for this lacuna is obvious; almost all known such shrines are of wood. Indeed, in Japan, the tradition of small shrines (Jp. zushi) survives to this day as a wood sculptor's product. Given the almost total lack of early wood finds in both India and Pakistan, it is very doubtful if early wooden objects of this type will ever be found in either country, no matter how common they may have been in the Buddhist periods. The stone one from which the section under discussion came, may have been produced as a kind of whim on the part of the patron or, perhaps a *tour de force* piece by the sculptor. Whatever the case and circumstances of its origin, it stands as an important document in Buddhist ritual paraphernalia.

Description

Tiny, slightly less than six cm. in height, the shrine section is essentially a quarter of a column with an engaged exterior panel (Figure 1). Following known examples from other areas of Asia, it is very probable that the main body of the 'column' would have been cylindrical and divided vertically into either four quarter-sections or two quarter and one half-section. The top of the 'column' is semi-ovoid or hemispheric so that, without the outer panels, the closed shrine would have closely resembled a *Śivaliṅga.* The upper two-fifths of the exterior of the column has on it a flat panel that is shaped much like a *caitya* arch or the so-called "false-dormer" seen on the Gandhāran version of the *stūpa.* It contains a single figure of a Bodhisattva in *dhyānamudrā.* The lower three-fifths of the flat panel continues with a completely unornamented rectangular frame containing a figure of a standing Buddha. He displays *abhayamudrā* with the right hand and holds the hem of his robe with the left hand which rests, pendant, at his side. Whether there would have been two, three or four of these panels on the outside of the shrine is a potentially problematic point. If there were four sections, one assumes that there would have been four panels. If there were a number of sections other than four there are several permutations that would have been possible. However, since there is direct evidence that there were four sections, I shall spare the reader these, rather obvious, speculations.

The two interior faces are essentially flat surfaces with deeply cut reliefs of life-scenes of the pre-enlightenment activities of a Buddha, possibly Śākyamuni (Figures 2 and 3). There are three scenes on each face providing a total of six for the section and a presumed total of twenty-four for the shrine as a whole. We shall return to these in the section on iconography.

The two edges of the section are fitted with rectangular openings that are cut through into the interior of the panels on the inner faces (Figures 4 and 5). This has not been done very cleverly, I am afraid, for the upper hole on the proper right (viewer's left, Figures 2 and 4) was cut directly into the position of one of the dividing spacers between the scenes and considerable effort had to be made to get by this obstacle. The four holes (actually only two and a half surviving holes as the bottom ones are both damaged with one missing altogether) provide a very useful bit of information. Since these holes do not go through to the outside of the section but are cut from the edge through to the interior, it is inconceivable that they are holes for fastening the shrine closed. Therefore, they must be holes for hinge straps. Since there are hinge strap holes on both sides of this section, it is likely that there were a total of four sections and that this is one of two interior sections. The reasoning behind this last assumption is as follows: among the known shrines that have two quarter-sections and one half-section, all have the two quarter-sections joined symmetrically to the two sides of the half-section with the result that the two quarter-sections are prepared to receive strap hinges only on one side. There would have been no reason to prepare receptacles for interior strap hinges on the edges of the two pieces that would have come together when the shrine was closed. Therefore, this must be an 'interior' section, bordered on both sides by other sections. Accordingly, the only logical combination of sections is a total of four quarter-sections with the present piece as either the second or third in the sequence.

If this was indeed a 'four-sectioned shrine' it was a shrine of an otherwise unknown format, for the majority of shrines that are known to have survived have three sections: two 'wings' for quarter-sections and one 'altar' or half-section.[5] Obviously, without the other sections we can never know the details of the iconographic statement contained within it. However, the fact that a second or third section out of a sequence of four had life scenes of the Bodhisattva suggests that there was no 'altar' unit and, therefore, that the entire interior may have contained life scenes. If such were the case, and assuming essentially similar formats for the other three sections, there would have been the potential of twenty-four scenes.

Iconography

Because of their extremely small size, less than two centimetres square, the individual scenes are somewhat difficult to read. However, the left face of the section (Figure 2) has, from the top, the Bodhisattva in School, the archery contest and the farewell by his horse, Kaṅthaka, and his groom, Candaka, to the Bodhisattva in the forest. The right face of the section (Figure 3) illustrates the Bodhisattva on the way to school, an unidentified scene with a very small bull in the lower left, a bird in the lower centre and unidentified animal (lion or dog ?) at the lower right, and, in the bottom panel, the 'Great Departure'. At least two of the three lateral 'pairs' of scenes are sequential from right to left. The 'Bodhisattva going to school' is on the right face while the 'Bodhisattva at school' is on the left face. The 'Great Departure' is on the right face and the 'farewell to Kaṅthaka and Candaka' is on the left. This strongly suggests that the unidentified scene ought to be early in the educational career of the Bodhisattva, at least prior to the archery contest but the identification of the scene has proven intractable. If the analysis of the potential number of scenes, twenty-four, is correct, it would have been most interesting to have the complete shrine as it would have been the most complete unified pictorial narrative of the life of the Buddha from the Gandhāran school of sculpture known and would have provided important insight into the structure of the narrative as understood in the region.

The scenes are identified in the following manner: The Bodhisattva on the way to school is invariably depicted as a princely figure associated with transport by a goat in Gandhāran iconography (ACSAA: Gandhara. Misc. [7:35]; GAP Fig. 23).[6] Although representations of this scene are relatively rare in Gandhāran art, a number of distinct image traditions are recognizable, riding on the goat, being pulled in a goat cart, etc. The version on the shrine section, with the goat carrying the Bodhisattva facing to the viewer's left and the three attendants, conforms in considerable detail to the one cited above from Lyons and Ingholt.

The Bodhisattva in school is commonly depicted as figure seated on a stool with a tablet in his lap or with a *pothi* style book in his hands. As far as I am aware, there is no particular set of conventions that are followed in detail with this event so that different depictions may vary considerably (ACSAA: Gandhara. misc. [7:38, 40]; GAP Fig. 25). Among the elements that suggest this identification are the larger size of the Bodhisattva, the position of the *pothi* style book with the figure of the Bodhisattva looking up from it toward the figure on the left side of the composition and the similarity of the relaxed posture of the Bodhisattva to similar figures in other 'Bodhisattva-in-school' scenes.

I have been unable to find a direct comparison to the next scene and it must remain 'unidentified' at present. As I have noted above, two of the scenes on the right side of the section of the shrine relate very closely to the scenes on the left side. Accordingly, I would expect that, if this scene followed the pattern established, it would be an event that occurred prior to the athletic contests of the Bodhisattva. Unfortunately, I have not been able to identify any such event. If we accept the possibility that the scene is out of order (a very common occurrence in Gandhāran sculpture) then a number of possibilities arise. The presence of the bull in the lower left corner of the composition suggests that it might be a variant of 'the first meditation' (ACSAA:G "Sahrī Bahlol", [1:22]; GAP Fig. 36). I frankly doubt this because, displayed equally with the bull, are a bird, directly at the feet of the Bodhisattva, and another creature (lion or dog?) to the lower right. Moreover, the Bodhisattva is not shown in the *dhyānamudrā* position which is characteristic of depictions of the event in Gandhāran sculpture. In Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* the career of the youthful Bodhisattva is dealt with in some detail and one episode suggests a plausible interpretation of the scene. As a child, the Bodhisattva is brought golden miniatures of animals.[7] However, the animals in Aśvaghoṣa's version, elephants, deer and horses,[8] are different from those depicted in the scene. Another passage in Aśvaghoṣa, referring to "[a being] whose very nature implies death, disease, and old age,—such a man is on a level with the birds and beasts,"[9] suggests that the three animals might be metaphors for death, disease and old age and that the scene is therefore, one of contemplating these three evils. In the *Buddhacarita*, the Bodhisattva is said to think about these three 'evils' in several passages just before the narrative of the first meditation and it may be that the relaxed, '*hanka*' pose of one knee raised supporting his elbow which in turn supports his head, may be an attempt to demonstrate the Bodhisattva's contemplation on these three evils. In neither case does the fragmentary scene really agree with the narrative nor, to my knowledge, has any other directly comparable scene come to light. Accordingly, it is my opinion that, until there is further evidence, this must remain an unidentified scene.

The scene on the left side is the archery contest, determined by the rather obvious presence of the Bodhisattva drawing his bow (ACSAA:G [7:41,42]; GAP Fig. 30). This event would seem more or less related to a number of events and is specifically said to come after the "removal of the elephant that Devadatta had killed." However it offers no further clue to the identity of the previous scene.

The next two scenes, the Great Departure and the farewell to Kaṅthaka and Candaka, are an obvious part of the sequence of the departure narrative. The departure scene (on the right side) is one of the two commonest types in Gandhāra with the horse moving to the left (GAP Fig. 45).[10] The *devas*, who are usually seen supporting the hooves of the horses, seem to have been reduced to just one with his face just barely visible coming out of the ground between the horse's feet. The next scene, to the left, is easily identified as the farewell of the Bodhisattva's horse, Kaṅthaka, and Groom, Candaka. The position of the bowing horse is unmistakable and occurs in many variants of the theme (GAP Fig. 49).

Accepting, for the moment, that the preceding assumptions about the nature of the shrine are correct, and that the scenes are arranged in a coherent manner, I would like to go on record as attempting to predict the subject matter of several of the other scenes. It is my opinion that the segment of the shrine under discussion should prove to be the third from the right section of a four-sectioned shrine and that, at least, the scenes noted on the following chart would be present on the remaining sections.

SECTION 4		**SECTION 3 (Existing)**		**SECTION 2**		**SECTION 1**	
8. Wrestling	7. Tug of War	6. In School	5. To School	4. Horoscope	3. Birth	2. Dream Interp.	1. Dream
16. Bring-bride	15. Father greets Victor	14. Archery Contest	13. Unident.	12. Toss Elephant	11. Devadat Kills Elephent	10 ?	9. Four-Visions
24. 1st Teach.	23. Vict. Over Mara	22. Farewell to Candaka	21. Departure	20. Groom brings horse	19. In harem	18. 1st Meditation	17. In palace

While these suggestions can only be considered as educated guesses until such time as other sections of the shrine come to light, they are based on the more commonly portrayed scences of the life of the Buddha as depicted in Gandhāran art. Even if the exact arrangement is not correct, it is easy to predict that many if not most of these scenes should be part of the twenty-four. More importantly, it gives an overall impression of what the shrine appeared like when it was opened to the observer.

Iconology of the Shrine

Assuming the proposed reconstruction of the shrine is valid, at least in principle, it would be appropriate to ask, "What is the overall meaning of such an object ?" Commonly, all 'life scenes' of 'the Buddha' are considered to be those of Śākyamuni Buddha. However, this may not be the case. Both the literature and a large number of works of art, confirm that the 'life of the Buddha' is the life of all Buddhas, not only in a general way but in rather specific details. Indeed, it is a foregone conclusion that Maitreya's life will be, in large measure, identical to that of Sakyamuni's[11] demonstrating a commonality of all Buddhas in spite of preserving specific differences about their realms, etc. Thus, the interior of the shrine lends no clue to the specific identity of the Buddha to whom it is dedicated. The exterior figures, a standing Buddha with a seated Bodhisattva in *dhāynamudrā* above his head in a *caitya* arch provide, at first glance, only meagre assistance. I have shown elsewhere[12] that there is a significant probability that the seated Bodhisattva in *dhyānamudrā* is Tuṣita--Maitreya as the resident of Tuśita in meditation to perfect his knowledge before his final birth and that the standing Buddha in association with him is very probably Ketumati-Maitreya. Thus, while it is admittedly hypothetical, there would seem to be a strong possibility that the shrine from which the section under discussion came, is actually a manifestation of the extensive cult of Maitreya that was current in Gandhāra at this time.

The Date of the Shrine

While even the dates of major Gandhāran sculptures are subject to much debate,[13] the 'minor objects' from the region are virtually unstudied. Therefore, any date given for the shrine section under discussion must be considered tentative in the extreme. By way of background, I will explain that it is my opinion that stone sculpture in the region began early, *circa* 50 B.C.,[14] continued through to about the second quarter of the seventh century, and developed in a highly localized manner with even neighbouring sites having significantly differing conventions.[15] The style of the figures on the exterior of the shrine falls between the second century highly refined sculptures and the later, 'incised drapery line' type. Since they are so small they might be expected to have the characteristics of the minor figures of the large stelae and images on the bases of large standing or seated figures, etc., of the late third through the fourth century. But, with the raised drapery folds, the details of the jewelry and the detailing of the turbans, etc., this would seem too late. Accordingly, I would place the shrine section in the first half to middle of the third century. Even at the extremes of variation, I would not see it as earlier than mid-second century or later than mid-fourth century. If anything, the later date seems more possible, since

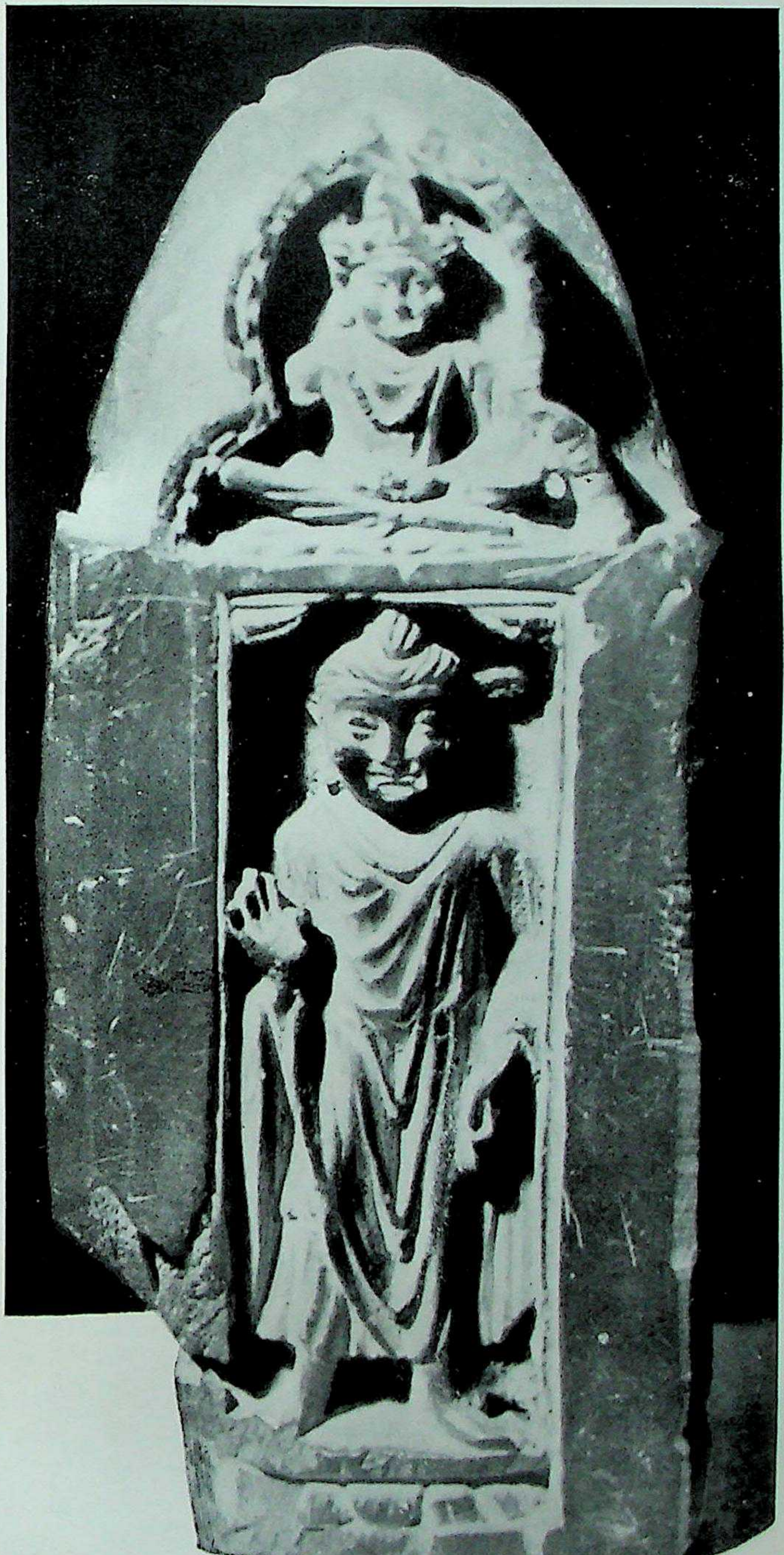

Fig. 1

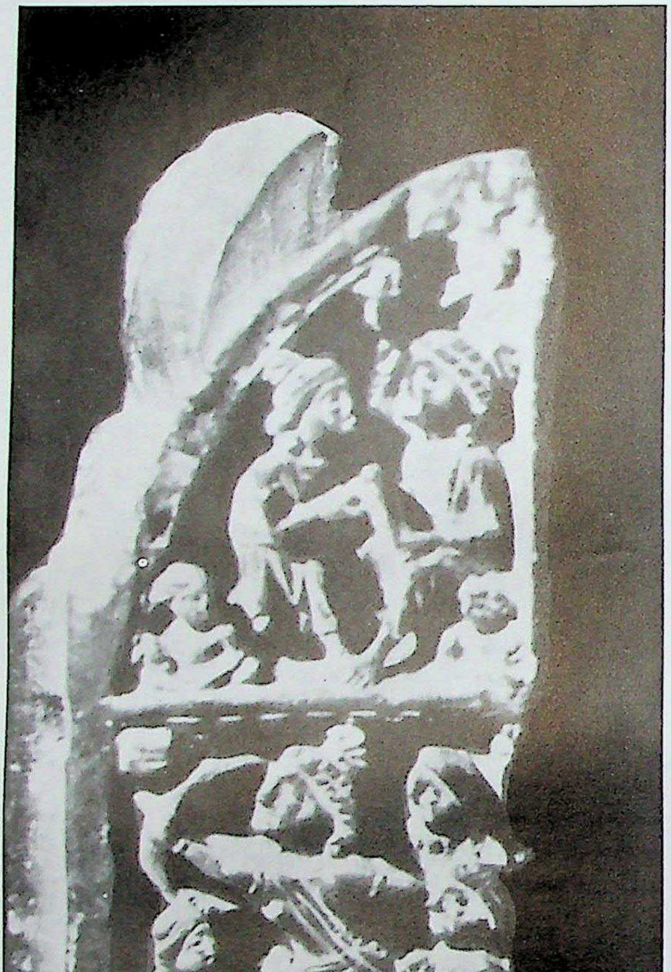

Fig. 2

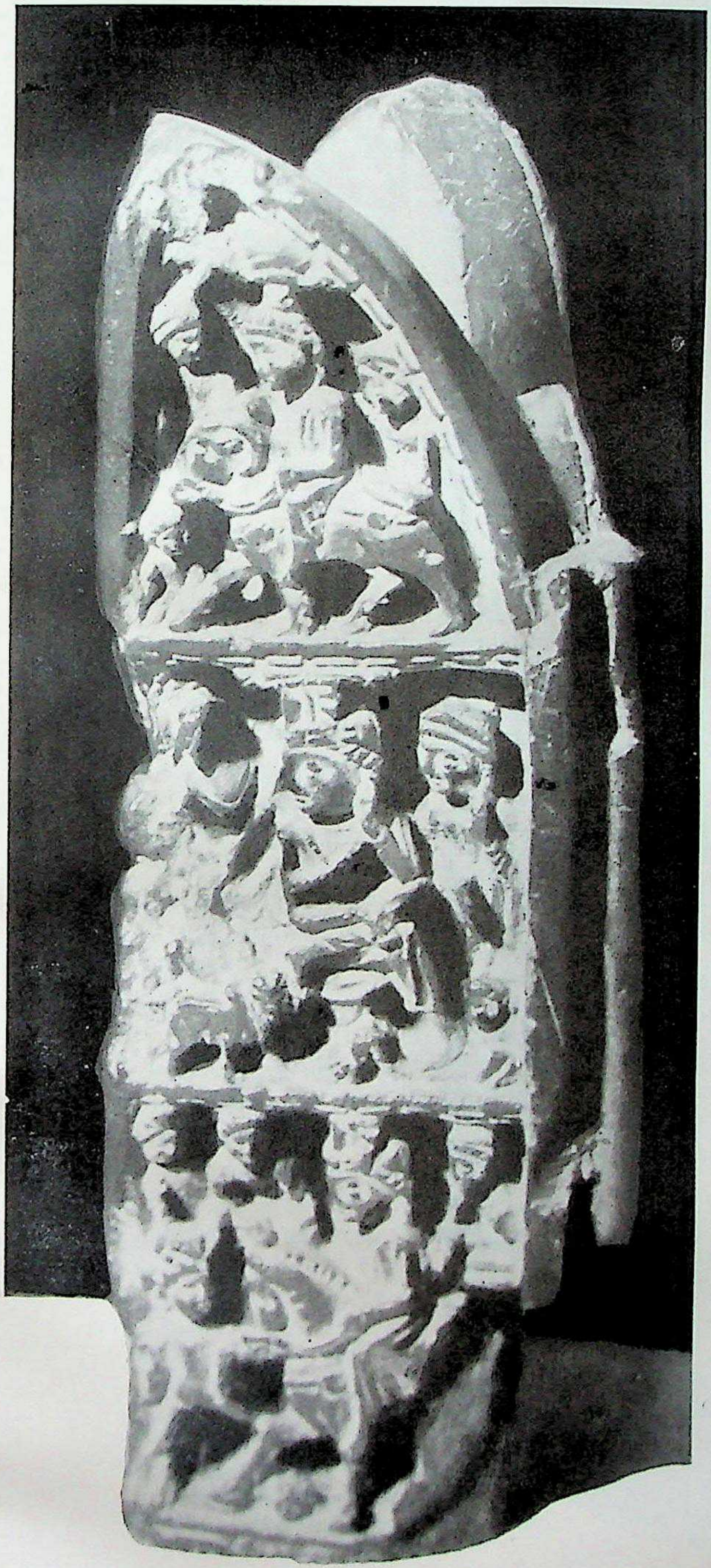

Fig. 3

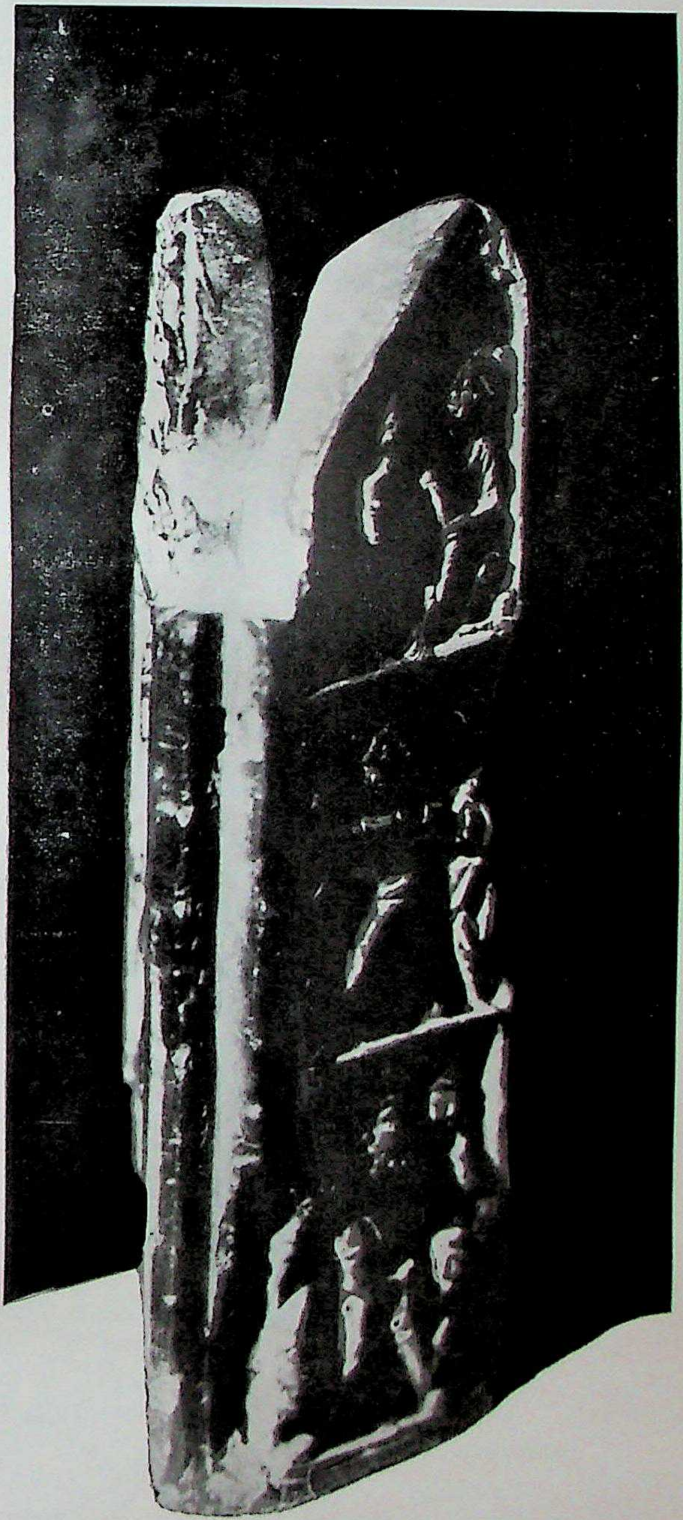

Fig. 4

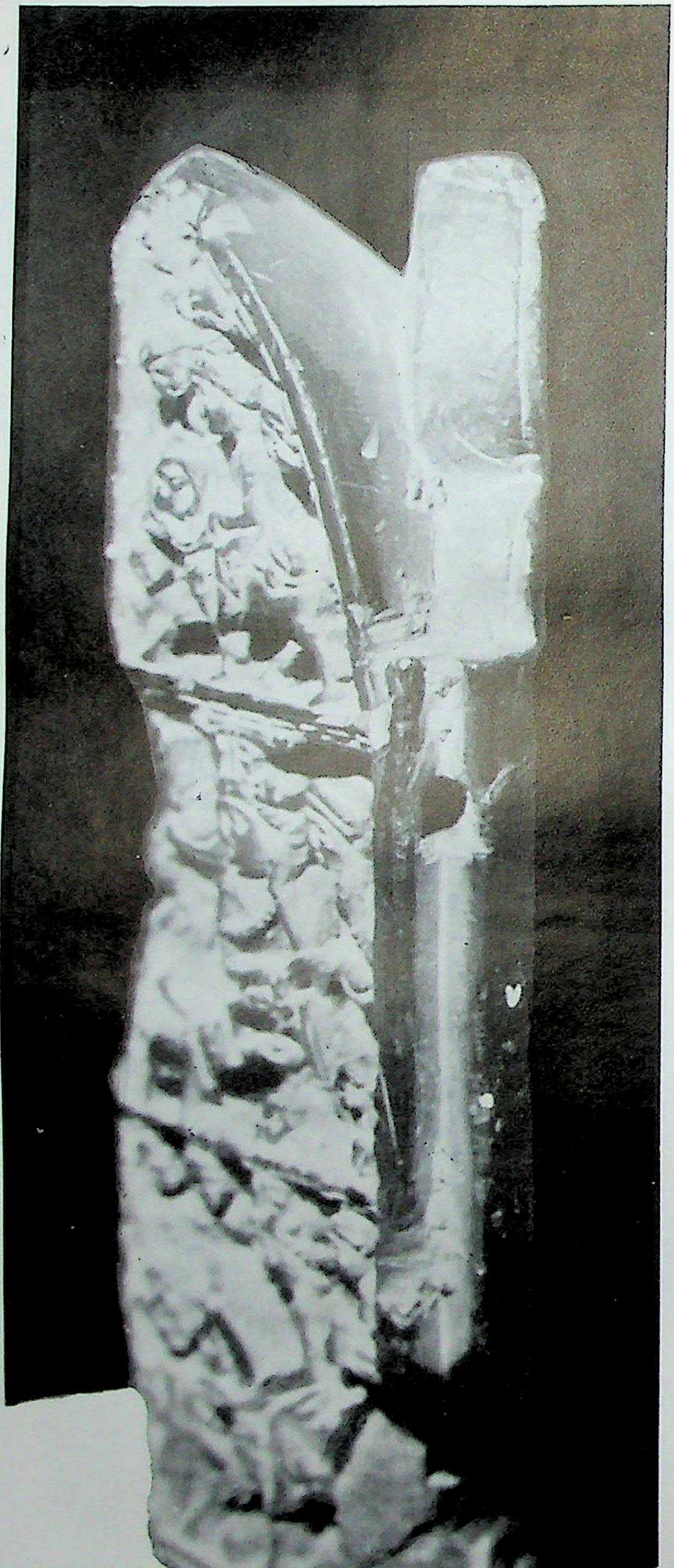

Fig. 5

the changes in sculptural convention are taking place in localized sites during this time and a conservative tradition could have survived at virtually any site for a generation or two.

Its Historical Significance

All problems aside, the piece is Gandhāran and is, indisputably, a section of a shrine of the type described. Whatever else may be said about it, it will remain a clear, prototypical example and of the type of shrine that became so important in Inner and East Asian Buddhism. It places the archetype of the general concept and of the specific type, at the least, in Gandhāra. Moreover, it is significantly earlier than any other known example, thus, extending the history of the type back in time at least two to three hundred years from previously known examples.[16] Whether such shrines were common or not and how widespread the practice of making them was, we shall probably never know. It is my opinion that since the vast majority of the shrines in Inner and East Asia were made in wood, the major tradition in South and West Asia was probably also one of making shrines in wood. Since they are fairly common in East Asia, especially Japan, they may well have been common in West and South Asia. We will probably never know the truth of this matter either. Were it not for someone who decided to make at least one such shrine in stone, the earliness of the tradition and proof of the tradition's existence in Gandhāra might never have been known.

Practices Associated with this Type of Shrine

Commonly, in lay devotional practice, shrines of this type serve both as a 'portable altar' and as a talisman for the protection of the bearer. Whether the shrine from which our section came was used as a home altar or not or whether it was worn or carried as a talisman or not is, of course, impossible to determine—its small size makes me think that the talismanic function is the most probable. Regardless, it still opens the door to the statement that such practices had to exist in Gandhāra. There are hints of this type of practice in other Gandhāran sculptures, e.g., the donatrix figure from Sahri Bahlol (GAP Fig. 400) holding the miniature shrine that has become so familar as the Tibetan amulet box or *gau*. This type of object speaks of an involvement of the laity (or of populist Buddhist concerns on the part of the monks) that is remarkably hard to trace. Because of the nature of surviving materials, it is seldom the minor objects of the laity that have survived (although certain metal images may fit the category, it will probably not be possible to be certain of any of them); thus, we are provided with a rare glimpse and insight into the popular practices of the laity in Gandhāra.

An Appeal to the Reader

Because of the small size of the object type and its extreme portability, this shrine section would have been ideal for art dealers to sell as minor objects to visitors to the region. If collectors or museum curators who see this article are aware of any other shrine sections (at least three more sections of this one had to have been made and certainly other shrines must have existed), I would be much interested in receiving information about and photographs of them. I may be contacted at the following address: Department of the History of Art, 108 North Oval Mall, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 43210, U.S.A.

Notes and References

1. I am indebted to the Smithsonian Institution; The College of the Arts and especially Dean Andrew J. Broekemaw of The Ohio State University; the Distinguished Research Award Committee of the Graduate School, The Ohio State University; and to the Government of Pakistan for support for the travel and research

I undertook in Pakistan while a participant in the Conference on Karakorum Culture in September 1983 which enabled me to discover this shrine section.

2. Photographs of the shrine section have been previously published by F. R. Allchin who mentions it in passing in his 'A Cruciform Reliquary from Shaikhan Dheri', in P. Pal (ed.), *Aspects of Indian Art*, Leiden, 1972, p. 25 and pl. IXb, where he identifies it as "perhaps modelling a triptych."
3. My sincere gratitude is due to Dr. Fidaullah Sehrai, Director of the Peshawar Museum, and to his able research officer, Mr. Irshad Zamil, for the very kind co-operation and help they provided me while I visited their museum. Without their interest in my work, the photographs illustrating this article would have been impossible to make.
4. It is not my intention to publish a 'literature' review on the portable shrines of Buddhism in this article but simply to report on the existence of the shrine section in question. For those who would read more on the topic see Phyllis Granoff, 'A Portable Buddist Shrine From Central Asia', in *Archives of Asian Art*, Vol. XXII, (1968-1969), pp. 81-95, for a brief survey of major examples. See also Alexander C. Soper, 'A Buddhist Travelling Shrine in an International Style', in *East and West*, n.s., Vol. 15:3-4, September-December 1965, pp. 211-255.
5. See Granoff, *op. cit.*, Figures 1 and 2.
6. For those who might like to compare these scenes on the shrine section with other Gandhāran examples I have provided parenthetical references to, *American Committee for South Asian Art, Microfiche Archive, Gandhāra*, edited by Susan L. Huntington and Janice L. Dundon, Leiden, n.d. (referred to as ACSAA:G [fiche number : image number]) and to Islay Lyons and Harald Ingholt *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, New York, 1957 (referred to as GAP). See also Soper, *op. cit.*
7. Asvaghoṣa, *Buddhacarita*, translated in *Mahāyāna Texts*, Part I, 'The Buddha-Carita of Aśvaghosa', translated by E. B. Cowell; *Sacred Books of the East*, edited by F. Max Müller, Vol. XGAPX. (reprint) Delhi, 1968, p. 20.
8. *Loc. cit.*
9. *ibid.* p. 46.
10. The other depicts the horse emerging frontally, usually out of a *caitya* arch. (GAP Fig. 168, D).
11. The Maitreya *sūtras* give clues to this identity of lives in statements like, "[Maitreya] will be born from his mother's right side, the same as I was." T. 435 (translated by Dharmaraksa in 303). Other, iconographic indications of their identity include the Bodhisattva Maitreya in the north alcove in the gSum-brtsegs at Alchi in Ladakh, which, although an image of Maitreya, his *dhoti* is covered with a complex narrative of the life of the Buddha as usually given for Sākyamuni thus, specifically equating the two.
12. See John, C. Huntington, 'The Cult and Iconography of Maitreya Images in Gandhāra', in *Papers from the International Conference on Karakorum Culture*, edited by A. H. Dani, forthcoming.
13. Just how debatable it is may be seen from the fact that some authorities see the period of sculpture as only Kuṣāṇa, about A.D. 120 to A.D. 240, while others see it as ranging from second century through fifth century and yet others argue for earlier and/or later extensions. I have had the benefit of several discussions with the participants at the conference on Karakorum Culture on this matter, especially Domenico Faccenna, Francine Tissot, Farzand Ali Durrani, and A.D.H. Bivar.
14. For a more detailed exposition of this opinion see my discussion of early sculpture in the Kapisa-Ghandhāran-Swat regions in, Susan L. Huntington with John C. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India : Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*, New York and Tokyo, 1984, pp. 113-121.
15. Two individuals at the conference mentioned in note thirteen, Francine Tissot and Elizabeth Errington seem to be following the wisest course of dealing with the chronology of Gandhāran sculpture by trying to re-establish the entire corpus of material excavated from particular sites. Once this is accomplished, they will attempt a stylistic chronology.
16. The shrine published by Soper, although obviously based on an Indic prototype is clearly Chinese workmanship and of a considerably later date.

17

A UNIQUE KADAMBA SCULPTURE WITH COW AND CALF MOTIF

G.C. Chauley

On 23 October 1984, the discovery of a carved *praṇāla* of an unknown Kadamba temple behind the Bom Jesus complex created a great sensation in the sleeping old portuguese capital city at Old Goa. It was a chance discovery; a group of labourers while digging the earth for laying a pipe line for drinking water came across with that stone channel. On receiving the information I reached the spot and instructed the concerned contractor of the work to send the stone channel to the Museum immediately. The news of discovery spread in the neighbouring villages and a group of fanatical youths forcibly lifted that sculpture from the place of discovery and kept it under a banyan tree opposite Gandhi Circle in Old Goa. Hundreds of people gathered there and regular worship started, devotees shouting as *Gomātāki Jay*, etc. People from the neighbouring villages flocked towards the site and a thick crowd assembled there to see that precious art object up to the late hours of night.

The matter was reported to the Collector. A group of senior officials of Goa Administration including the Collector visited the spot and police arrangements were made to guard it. On 24 October 1985 the Collector got the Art piece lifted from the place with the help of the police after passing an order under Indian Treasure Trove Act 1878, in spite of a strong protest from the Hindus of that locality. Subsequently the Collector and the Goa Administration issued an order in favour of the Archaeological Survey of India for the Art piece to be preserved in the Museum.

The particular Art object on stylistic grounds could be dated to tenth-eleventh centuries A.D. i.e. Kadamba age, having all the typical later Chalukyan characteristic features. It is a temple *praṇāla* or channel of an unknown Hindu temple. The water chute or *Ambu Marga* or *Praṇāla* as it is called is an important part of a Hindu temple specially for its functional utility, i.e., to drain out the water or milk utilized in day-to-day *poojā* or anointment of the deity or of *Abhiṣekha*. We get references of *praṇāla* in the *Vastusastra* and its functional aspect in detail as summarized below: 'In the *garbhagṛha*, the water with which *liṅga* or image is laved in the daily rite, passes from the image to the drain (*praṇāla*) on the *garbhagṛha* and leaves through a spout carved in the shape of a *makara*, etc. The water in which the *liṅga* or image has been bathed is sanctified and therefore is made to flow to the north as the Ganges too is most sacred where its course turns northwards.'

The common motif of the temple *praṇāla* is generally the face of *makara*, of a lion or of a tiger. But the most interesting aspect of this *praṇāla* which is under discussion is the carving of a cow and calf motif. In India, the cow is considered sacred and worshipped either as Bhagavatī, Gomātā or Kāmadhenu. The representation of cow and calf together is considered to be most auspicious in Indian Art. The notable lithic representation of a cow licking its calf is noticed in the Cave No. 4 (Kṛṣṇa *Maṇḍapa*) at Mahābalipuram. The same is also found in Ellora cave No. XV. In the late medieval Pahāri paintings in connection with Kṛṣṇa legend we do come across cow and milching calf motif.

The sculptor has selected a rectangular block of a schist, a common type of stone used for the construction of medieval temples by the later Chalukyas in Karnataka and the Kadambas of Goa, as the Kadamba Art very much resembles Karnataka Art because Kadambas of Goa are the off-shoot of

Kadambas of Banavasi (Karnataka). The portion which was attached to the wall of the *garbhagṛha* is carved like a channel and is inserted in the wall to connect it with the drain inside the *garbhagṛha*. It is interesting to note that the sculpture of cow and milching calf motif in round are hewn out of a single block of stone occupying the middle part of the *praṇāla*. The cow is carved facing the *garbhagṛha* of the temple and four legs are just resting on both sides of the side wall of the *praṇāla* and the lower part of the cow is made hollow to give a complete shape of the channel for the sake of easy outlet of water. The cow is very elegantly carved with a chain of bells adoring the neck. The chain consists of twenty-one roundish bells, with common opening at the top part. Ten of them are shown on the left and the rest on the right with a central knot tied near the hump. Though the sculpture is in round, the left side front leg is not carved as it is covered by the hind part of the calf. But to right, both front and back legs are carved shown resting on the periphery of the *praṇāla*. The total length of the *praṇāla* is 1.03 meter, width is 17 cm., maximum height is 24 cm.; one end of the *praṇāla* which is touching the wall part is square in shape with width of 10 cm. and height of 12 cm. while the other end is semi-circular with width of 6 cm. A concave curvature is given adjacent to its end breaking the horizontal plane of the *praṇāla*. The depth of the channel varies from 5 cm. to 8 cm.

The measurement of cow is, length—37 cm., width—16 cm. and height—24 cm. and the cow is shown standing quietly, full of motherly affection to allow its calf to suck the milk. The horns and ears of the cow are shown unusually carved horizontally parallel to its body height instead of vertically. An ornamental ribbon band is also carved adorning the forehead with dangling ribbon ends. The tail is also majestically carved and shown resting on the right side wall of the *praṇāla* with the tuft as if carefully combed.

The calf is shown standing towards the left side of the cow and busy in sucking the milk in a very natural pose. The calf is carved in a low relief with the tail and tuft hanging downwards; only the front and back legs are carved prominently. A chain of small bells is also shown around its neck. The lower part of the hind leg and head of the calf are badly chipped off. So far as perfection of carving is concerned this particular sculpture lacks proportion as the back portion of the cow is shown unusually heavy and massive unlike that of a cow but of an elephant.

Whatever may be the defects in carving, this is a unique piece of art and an object of great veneration to the Hindus of Goa who worship Go-mātā or Savatsadhenu. From the literature as well as from the accounts of the foreign travellers we could know that during the heydays of the Kadambas of Goa many temples dedicated to different Hindu pantheon were constructed in the city of Old Goa but have now completely vanished due to invasion, counter-invasion and ravages caused by the invaders and the iconoclasts. The remains of the temple to which this *praṇāla* belongs are not known but definitely it was an important temple in this locality.

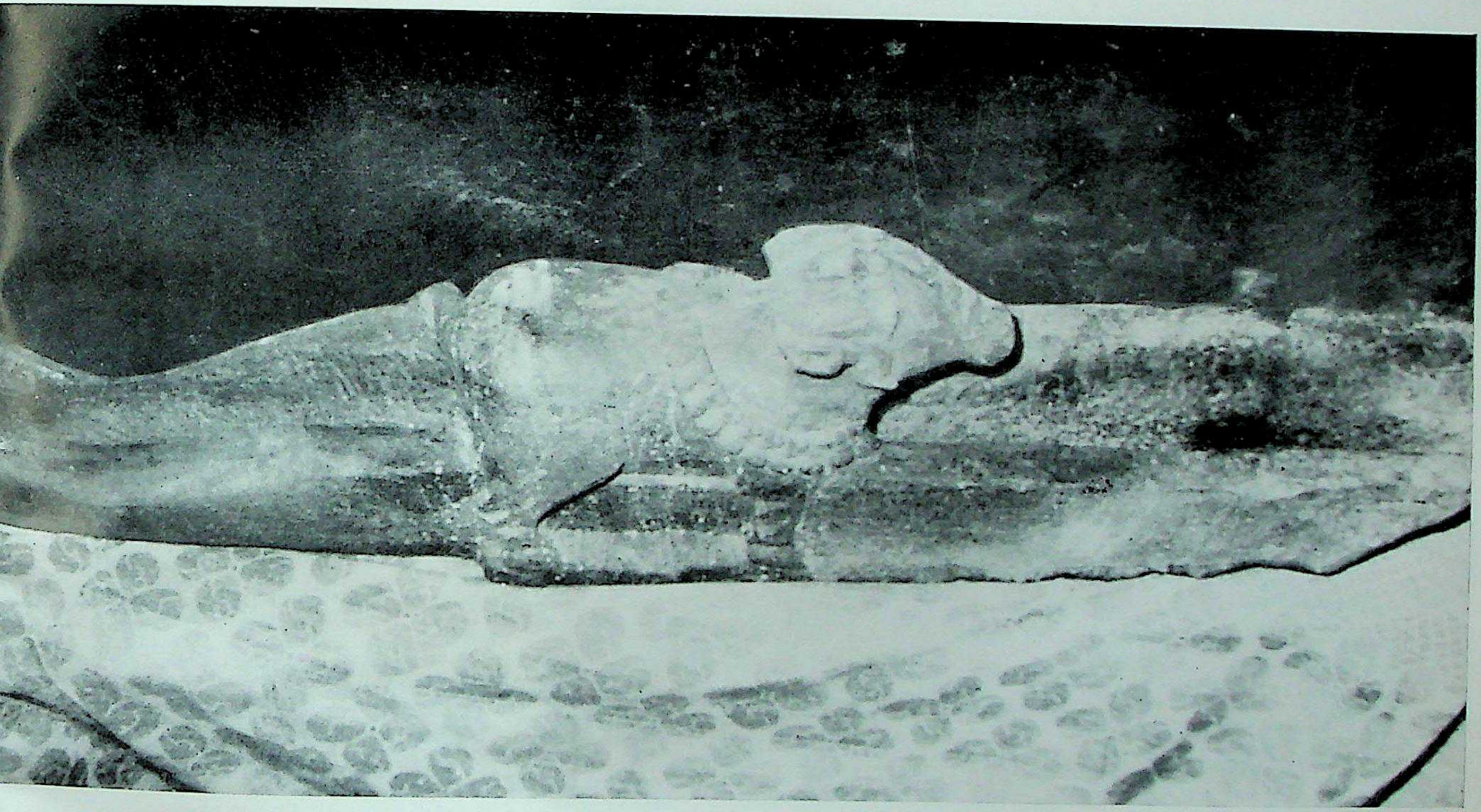

Fig. 1

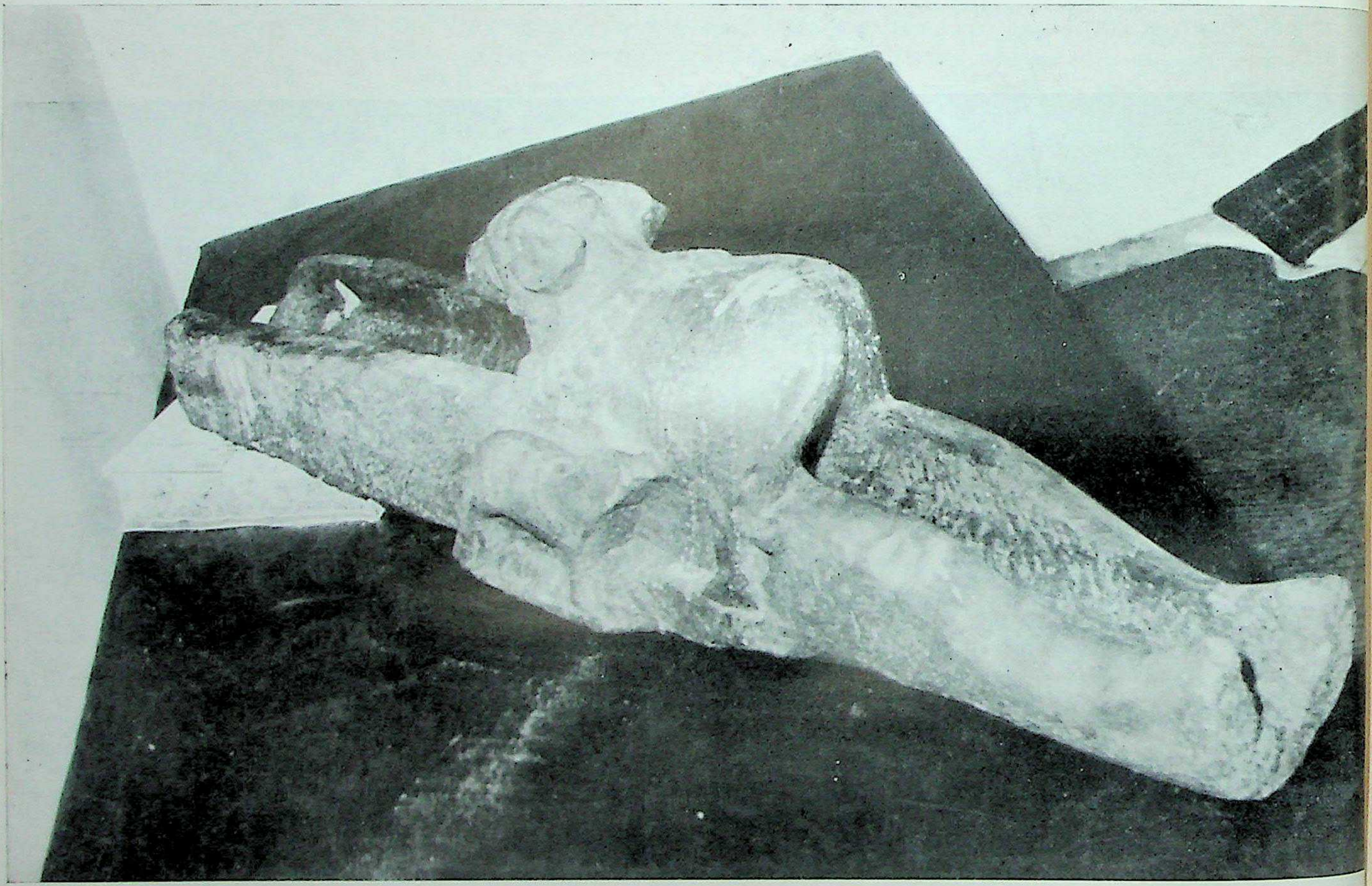

Fig. 2

18

GENESIS AND NATURE OF FEUDALISM UNDER THE PALLAVAS OF KĀNCHĪ

T.V. Mahalingam

One of the major problems in understanding clearly the course and nature of the socio-economic formation of the early medieval Indian society relates to the kind of political and economic relations between the king and his subordinates. It is generally taken that the type of politico-economic relationship that was evolved during the period was based largely, if not essentially, on land, though the elements of political, social and military obligations were also present and hence bears resemblance to many of the characteristics of what is generally termed 'feudalism' which developed as an organized institution in contemporary Europe. Fedualism in Europe may be described as

> a complete organization of society through the medium of land tenure, in which the king down to the lowest land owner are all bound together by the obligation of service and defence, the lord to protect his vassal, the vassal to do service to his lord, the defence and service being based on and regulated by the nature and extent of the land held by the one or the other. In those states which have reached the territorial stage of development, the rights of defence and service are supplemented by the right of jurisdiction. The lord judges or defends his vassal; the vassal does suit as well as service to his lord. In states in which feudal government has reached its utmost growth the political, financial, judicial, every branch of public administration is regulated as a mere shadow of a name.[1]

Thus one would see that in medieval Europe feudualism had two aspects, one political and the other economic. According to the former, the vassal administered his fief and enjoyed certain powers in return for which he was bound to serve his lord. For his part, the lord was expected to protect his vassal. The economic aspects of feudalism in the continent consisted in the fact that the vassal's position and powers were closely connected to the extent of land he held. At the same time it must also be noted that a fief "was not always an area of land, however; it might also be an office or position or the right to collect tolls at a bridge or even the right to coin money or to establish markets and enjoy the profits therefrom."[2]

It requires to be examined how far the above concept and principle of feudalism are applicable to the politico-socio-economic relations that developed in early medieval India between the king on one side and his subordinates on the other. It is to be accepted that the word 'feudalism' seems to have been used in the Indian context in a very general way; there are some who are inclined to doubt the correctness or appropriateness of the term itself as applied to the Indian context to describe the relationship between the overlord and his vassal, obviously viewing the problem from contemporary European parallels. But "the fact must be borne in mind that feudalism was not the same in all countries of western Europe. Many of its features commonly assumed to have been universal were found only in France, where the system was most fully developed, or in one or two other countries at the most. For example, the rule of primogeniture, under which the fief descended intact to the oldest son, was not in force in Germany; nor were social distinctions so sharply defined there as in France. Furthermore, not all of the lands and not all of the inhabitants of any European country were included under the feudal regime. Most of the farmers in the hilly and mountainous regions of France, Italy and Germany did not hold their lands as fiefs but owned them outright, as their ancestors had for centuries."[3]

When this was so even in Europe in the middle ages, it is difficult to expect every aspect of well-developed principles of feudalism to be seen in the Indian context, since social evolution could not have had a similar or uniform process in a vast country like India. The environment and traditions under which human societies developed in India through the ages, giving rise to different kinds of phenomena, would suggest that the type of socio-economic organization must have been different from period to period and area to area. Naturally, therefore, the nature of the lord-vassal relationship of feudal Europe and some of the distinct feudal characteristics such as institutionalized fealty among the feudal members, influence exerted by religious institutions such as the Church, etc., found in feudal Europe or in Japan in certain periods cannot be applied *in toto* to Indian conditions. Though some of the characteristics of the Indian landed aristocracy bore some resemblance to those of the well-known principles of feudalism in Europe, there were certain peculiar elements which the institution developed in India. In spite of that the system in India shows some stadial conformity with its counterpart in some other parts of the world, at least in its fundamental aspects which lead us to think that the arrangement was feudal in nature, in spite of certain variations. It is for want of a better term that we use the word 'feudalism' to denote the relationship between the king and his vassals in the Indian context. If one thinks still that the above term is a misnomer and therefore misleading may one use the expression '*samanta* system' to describe the concept of India feudalism ?

Whatever may be the term used in the study of this politico-socio-economic structure in all its variations in India, the problems connected with the genesis, nature and basic causes for its development and above all, its impact on the social structure in India are to be studied both vertically and horizontally.

This important aspect of the socio-economic history of the medieval period has attracted a number of scholars all over India, as also abroad and has been the theme of a few seminars held at different places. But one notices that in all the attempts so far made with regard to the examination of Indian feudalism much attention has been paid to a consideration of the available data from the North Indian sources, and very little has been done on the subject based on South Indian source materials which are in great abundance. This is, however, understandable since the vastness of our country and the large wealth of material in different languages bearing on the subject necessitate some limitation to the extent of the field for research on the theme by any scholar. Therefore, I think I may confine myself in this paper to a consideration of the evidence available on the subject from South India, particularly from the Pallava inscriptions.

Now to the genesis of feudalism in early medieval South India. In the early centuries of the Christian era which is usually referred to as the 'Sangam age' in South Indian history, Tamil Nadu and Kerala were ruled by three important dynasties of rulers, the Cholas, the Pandyas and the Cheras. Besides, there were a number of tribal medieval chieftains usually called *Kurunilamannars* who ruled over smaller territories in the region owing nominal allegiance to one or other of the three crowned kings. They changed their loyalty from one overlord to another as the political exigencies demanded and at times were practically independent in their own territories. Occasionally the tribal chieftains as well as the three crowned kings allied themselves for a common political purpose. But there does not appear to have been any organic and well-defined connection between the overlord and vassal either through land or political arrangement to determine their exact governmental or economic relationship.

But it was with the emergence of the Pallavas as a political power at the beginning of the fourth century A.D. in the southern parts of eastern Andhradesh, i.e., to the south of the river Krishna and their expansion over Tamil Nadu up to the river Kaveri in the south by the seventh century A.D. and the rise of the Pandyas of the First Empire in the extreme south in the sixth century A.D. that one gets some useful data regarding the machinery of government, with the organization of which appeared some of the elements of feudalism in the Tamil country. The Pallava kingdom covered a fairly wide area, its western boundary touching the eastern and south-eastern boundary of the Karnataka kingdoms like those of the Kadambas, Gangas, Chalukya, etc. The Pallava kings ruled from Kānchīpuram on the banks of the river Palar and must have experienced much difficulty with regard to the maintenance of a centralized machinery of administration with a hierarchy of officers from top to bottom particularly, since the country they had conquered consisted of a number of tribal chieftains who were exercising almost independent power over their respective territories before the establishment of the Pallava suzerainty over them. The vastness of the'kingdom, the want of good means of communication and transport to exercise strong and effective control over its distant parts, problems connected with the maintenance of a large standing army for the imperial power, difficulties in the collection of taxes of different kinds from the people of different regions, as also the problem of completely subduing the local chiefs and making them regular officers of the government to administer the different parts of the kingdom naturally made the Pallava kings recognize the local rulers in their respective areas, provided they accepted the overlordship of the Pallava suzerains.

Though there is no specific and clear evidence so far available for this kind of administrative arrangement the political conditions of the age and the necessities of the period created circumstances for the beginnings of feudal relationship in major fields between the Pallava kings and their subordinates. This kind of feudal relationship and arrangement seems to have become the norm in the Pallava period in the south for we find the older tribal chieftains of the Sangam age like the Adigamans, Vellars, etc., besides new ones that came into political prominence like the Muttaraiyars, Vilupparaiyars, Vanakovaraiyars, etc., to mention only a few, also continued to administer in their respective areas. The nature of the emerging feudal elements does not appear to have brought under their votex the whole system of administrative organization as in contemporary Europe. This seems to have been the genesis and course of the rise of the feudal elements in the political organization under the Pallavas in the early medieval period.

Since the fundamental characteristic feature of feudalism depended on the degree of ownership of land, the epigraphs relating to land transactions and grants in early medieval South India deserve our careful scrutiny. Some thirty copper-plate grants were made by the Pallava rulers and their subordinates over a period of nearly five centuries from the beginning of the fourth century A.D. to the close of the ninth century A.D. They record grants of plots of land or whole villages to Brahmans (in one instance to a Jain teacher), temples, *vidyasthana*, etc. For a study of feudal developments during the period of the Pallavas, these grants of lands throw welcome light. There are certain terms and expressions in the records, which, when studied in their proper perspective, would give some interesting information on questions like the ownership right, relationship between the king and his subordinates, etc., including services of a feudal nature. The land grants with all immunities[4] made to Brahmans during the period of the supremacy of the Pallavas, though cannot be taken *prima facie* as fiefs or beneficiums of a feudal character, certainly would have given rise to intermediaries of a landed aristocracy of a hereditary nature and consequently contributed to the beginnings of feudal elements in the socio-economic life in the country. It is unfortunate that not many inscriptions, either copper-plate or lithic, recording secular land grants or grants to warriors have come down to us, though there might have been allotments of fiefs to chiefs or lands granted as service tenures under different rulers and at different times.[5]

But there are one or two secular grants made during the Pallava period. In the Nedungaraya copper plates,[6] dated in the twelfth year of Pallava Simhavarman II (A.D. 448) the village of Nedungaraya in Munda-rashtra was granted as *saranika-grama* with all immunities to three bhojas, namely, Doddisvami, Kannasvami, and Nandisvami who held Nadipi. The grant was made by *Yuvamaharaja* Vishnugopavarman, brother of Simhavarman II. It is striking that this grant does not include the customary verse praising the merit of a land grant, while some other grants like the Uruvappalli grant,[7] made to a temple during the same reign contain such a verse, thereby proving that it is not a land grant made for accruing religious merit. Moreover it can be shown that these three donees were possibly the chiefs from the adjacent Kadamba territory who took asylum under the Pallavas along with their prince Vishnuvarman, son of Krishnavarman I of the Kadamba family. Vishnuvarman was made a general of the army of the Pallavas, as gleaned from the evidence of the Uruvappalli plates. Thus the Nedungaraya plates provide an instance of a secular land-grant made to refugee chiefs in the fifth century A.D. itself. The grant, however, does not make any mention of the obligations expected from the donees in return for the grant.[8]

But the practice of allotting fiefs to chieftains in return for their service is traceable in the Pallava records from the middle of the fourth century A.D. The Hirahadagalli plates[9] which record a grant of land to certain Brahmans by the Pallava king *Dharma-Maharaisdhi-raja* Sivaskandavarma I dated in his eight year state that the writer of the charter named Bhattisarman who was the *Rahasyadhikrita* officer of the king, was also the *bhojaka* of the village of Kolivala. The officer might have held the village as a fief, probably in return for his service in the court as a *Rahasyadhikrita*.

The Chendalur plates[10] of Kumaravishnu (III) (*c.* sixth-century A.D.) state that 432 *pattikas* of land in the village of Chendaluru were granted to a Brahman. The piece of land, it is stated, formed part of the king's domain in the *kavachakara-bhoga* in the village. This is an important inscription for two reasons: (i) the *kavachakaras* (warriors) were given some fiefs for personal enjoyment (*bhoga*) and (ii) the king himself had some proprietary share in the *kavachakara-bhoga*.

Yet another instance of allotment of fief is furnished indirectly by the Udayendiram charter[11] of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla (A.D. 741-796). The plates state that the grant of the village to 108 Brahmans was made at the request of Udayachandra of the *Pu-cha* family who was the 'lord of Vilvapura'. We have elsewhere[12] pointed out that this Udayachandra must have accompanied Pallavamalla when the latter arrived at Kānchī from a distant country in South-East Asia for his coronation. Hence Udayachandra must have been made the general of the Pallava army and dubbed as the 'lord of Vilvala city' or in other words given a fief, only after the accession of Pallavamalla.

The Kasakkudi plates[13] dated in the twenty-second regnal year of the same king mention that the grant was made by Brahmayuvaraja out of his own *prasada* (*svameya prasada*) evidently bestowed on him by the king.

The reign period of the same king furnishes another piece of evidence which gives an idea of the feudal developments in the Pallava kingdom in the early medieval period. Some time in A.D. 788 when Nandivarman II invaded the Gangavadi 6000 province and conquered it, he seems to have rewarded his vassal, the Bana ruler Jayanandivarman with the grant of the Gangavadi 6000 province which appears to have been till then under the Ganga ruler Duggamara Ereyappa.[14]

It should be mentioned here that a number of officers under the Pallavas, as well as the Cholas, their political successors, are mentioned as the lords of such and such villages or territorial areas, pointing to the fact that they enjoyed such villages or regions as fiefs for their service to the royal house.

The increase in the power of the feudal vassals during the Pallava period is also indicated by some Pallava copper-plate charters. While the earlier land grants were made by the Pallava kings, crown princes and in one instance by a queen, in the subsequent periods, say after the middle of the sixth century A.D., the vassals also began to make land grants, though with the sanction of the ruling monarch, which was probably only formal. This fact suggests the presence of feudal elements in the administration of the provinces. Such a phenomenon is noticed in the Pallava records from the middle of the sixth century A.D. starting from the Pallankoyil charter.[15] Except the Vunnaguravapalem[16] and Reyuru[17] grants, all grants were made by the vassals with the sanction of the overlords.

The distinction between the land grants made by the Pallava monarchs themselves and those made by their subordinate vassals with the sanction of their overlord is brought out by the specific use of the Tamil world *paradatta* (=Sanaskrit *paradatta*) in inscriptions. The world *paradatta* used in different grants would mean a gift made by a third person. It is often found that for the *paradatti* grants there are *vijnaptis* (petitioners) and *ajnaptis* (executors) and that the granted portion invariably lies in the territory of the *vijnaptis* who are also given a prominent place in the *prasasti* portion of the grants. The *vijnapti*, always a vassal, seeks the approval of the king for the grant he would like to make in his territory. That the *vijnaptis* were feudal vassals and fief holders in the kingdom is seen by the evidence of the Kasakkudi plates of Nandivarman II referred to above and of the other grants of the same king.

The approval by the ruling monarch of a grant made by feudatory chiefs presupposes the fact that a specified tribute had to be paid to the king by his vassals. Since the grants were made with all immunities, definitely they would involve some loss of revenue to the vassal. This loss could be made up in two ways: (i) by imposing new taxes and obligations on the people of other villages under his jurisdiction and (ii) by informing the king about the grant and soliciting his approval for the same with a view to obtaining some sort of concession or reduction in the tribute specified for him. It seems probable that the Pallava feudal vassals adopted the second method which was preferred since the procedure shows the vasal's acknowledgement of the suzerain, avoids unnecessary new imposition of taxes and above all provides for some concession or reduction in his annual tribute.[18]

It is indeed striking to note that while the earlier charters were all orders of the kings to the residents of the given villages and the connected officials informing them about the concerned gift, the later ones are in the form of documents which registered the orders sent by the kings to the *nattars* (probably a local administrative body consisting of landholders of the district) and show how the *nattars* executed the royal orders by fixing the boundaries, etc. The later records do not mention any officers except, the *ajnapti*, besides the *vijnapti*, scribe, etc., who might have been connected with the execution of the grant. Therefore, it becomes clear that other administrative officers had nothing to do with the grant. Is it a coincidence that all such Pallava records addressed to the *nattars* register grants made on the submission of the *vijnapti*, the feudal lords, and hence were *paradatti* grants? When a feudal vassal granted a village in his territory or out of his own personal fief with the approval of his overlord, the *nattars* were asked to fix the boundaries. However, when a resident in the territory of a feudal vassal endowed some land for a purpose, it seems, the feudal vassal took the authority to define the boundaries of the gift. A lithic record from Tiruvallam[19] (North Arcot district, Tamil Nadu) of Nandivarman II (A.D. 731-796) dated in his 62d regnal year (A.D. 763) states that when Bana Mavalivanarya was ruling over Vadugavali 12000 province, an individual endowed a piece of land to the temple at the place and that the Bana ruler confirmed the grant after circumambulating the hamlet (*pidagai-valancheydu*). From this record it is evident that the approval of the feudal chief was at times required for a grant made in his territory. Here the *nattars* had no role to play. The fixing of the boundaries which would be done by the *nattars* was carried out by the Bana chief himself.

The next important evidence relating to feudal developments in Pallava administration is found in the *Pariharas* or exemptions given to the donees. In some of the earlier Pallava charters it is stated that the grants were made either with all kinds of exemptions from the obligations mentioned in a grant or along with eighteen kinds of *pariharas* which are at times listed fully or partly.[20] The Maidavolu plates of *Yuvamaharaja* Sivaskandavarman I exempt the granted village from digging the land for salt, supply of bullocks, boiled rice, water pots,. . .cots and dwellings and from the entrance of soldiers into the village. Another grant, viz., Hirahadagalli grant, declares that the gifted village was exempted from supplying food, water, fire-wood, cot, oxen, grass, wood, vegetables, flowers, etc., besides digging the land for salt and tapping palm-wine. These two pieces of evidence of the fourth century A.D. would show that there already existed certain obligations due from the villages to the king and his touring and camping officials and the divisions of the army. When a grant was made the king deprived himself of certain obligations due to him periodically or otherwise. Besides the government of the day monopolized some industries such as salt-manufacturing, tapping of toddy-wine, etc., at least in certain regions. Such monopolies were also probably given away.

While discussing the feudal elements in the administration of the provinces under the Pallavas, it is necessary to know the conditions of the free land-holders, agricultural labourers, tenants and slaves. The land grants, with all immunities—even including the one from the royal authority to exercise judicial powers—would have naturally deprived the earlier tenants of the gifted villages and reduced them to a state of serfdom. The Hirahadagalli plates of Sivaskandavarman I referred to earlier in a different context mention that four *addhikas* and two *kolikas* were also given along with the gifted land. It is presumed by some scholars that the Prākrit word *addhika* stands for the Sanskrit word *arddhika*, i.e., one who took half the share of the produce from a given piece of land and did service on the land. Since four *addhikas* were given along with the land to the donees (Brahmans) it seems they were tied to the soil.

The proprietary right had been changed but at the same time the *addhikas*, those who worked on the land, were allowed to continue to work. Can one say that these *addhikas* were serfs ? The same plates also refer to the exemption of the donee from *akara vishti*. It was probably forced labour compulsorily demanded and free of charge. Probably this word became Tamilized into *vetti* in later medieval inscriptions. It is mentioned as *bitti* in the Kannada inscriptions. Later Tamil inscriptions also mention *muttial* often along with *vitti*. *Muttial* (*Muttaiyal*) would probably mean forced labour demanded on special occasions to meet certain contingencies apart from *vetti*. Thus the system of forced labour which is a characteristic feature of feudal economy also appears to have existed during the Pallava times, though the evidence for the same is not much.

One would expect specific mention of the steps taken by the ruling and governing authorities in order to ensure the rights of the earlier settlers and tenants while making land grants which were *danas* (irrevocable gifts) and not *bhogas* (given for mere enjoyment).[21] In this respect we come across terms and expressions in Tamil such as *kovum-poriyum marri*, *kovum-poriyum-tiradu*, *mun-perrarai-marri*, *kudi-nikki*, *ulnilan-olivinri*, etc., as qualifying phrases in describing the nature of the gift in the Pallava records which are worth careful consideration. Some records state that the rights of the king and his office (*kovum-perium*) were 'made over' or transferred (*marri*) (to the donees), while a few others record that the 'rights of the king and his office' were 'cleared' (*tiradu*), (in favour of the donees) thus making it obvious that the king, as well as the government had given away all their rights. In certain cases the same fact is further strengthened by such expressions as that the king gave away "all the land situated within the four great boundaries (earlier described in the charter) inclusive of wet lands, saline soil, grazing pasture, forest, *pidilikai* ditches, wells, houses, house-gardens and all land where iguana runs and tortoise crawls without excluding any area within the granted area (*ulnilanolivinri*)."

Not only this. Previous endowments and gift lands in the newly granted village were also included after having arranged for the earlier donees alternative pieces of land in some other place. Thus expressions like *mun-perrarai-marri* duly mean that those recipients of earlier gifts were changed over or transferred (*marri*) to some other place so as to enable the donor to make the gift a full and comprehensive one. Likewise, the term *kudi-nikki* occurs in a number of Pallava copper-plate grants. It is generally held that the expression (*kudi-nikki*) means 'evicting or removing the earlier tenants'. Some scholars would prefer to take the meaning of the word *kudi* either as 'occupant' or as 'occupancy right' (according to the context). If this is accepted then *kudi-nikki* would preferably mean 'removing the occupancy right (over the soil)'. Thus all the free cultivators would be deprived of their occupancy rights over their respective pieces of land if the gift was made as a *kudi-nikki* one. It seems the cultivators were allowed to stay as tenants or labourers and not evicted. Thus the *kudi-nikki*[22] gifts of villages made during the Pallava period reduced a portion of the peasant community to a state of serfdom. There is no clinching evidence to indicate that they suffered on account of the change. Probably they were given some compensation.

In spite of the evidences we have in the Pallava period for the evolution of feudal concepts and institutions in the socio-economic history of South India, there are still a number of related problems for the solution of which one does not get sufficient epigraphical evidence. Among them are: (i) to what extent it is possible to distinguish a regular feudal vassal from a subordinate chieftain, both of whom owed allegiance to the king by paying tributes and discharging military obligations; (ii) whether it was obligatory on the part of all feudal vassals to attend the king's court on important occasions like his coronation, marriage in the royal house, birth of a child in the royal family, etc., as in medieval Europe (in this regard the part played by the *mahasamantas* (great *samantas*), one Kaddaka-Muttaraiyar and a Pallavadhi-araiyar in the coronation of Nandivarman II (c. A.D. 731) deserves to be noted);[23] (iii) whether there was a definite hierarchal order among the feudal vassals, the existence of which is, however, suggested by their designations such as, *araiyar*, *adhiaraiyar*. *Peraraiyar*, *Peradhi-araiyar*, etc.; (iv) the significance of the anointment of a king by another ruler or rulers deserves careful examination from the point of view of the fact whether the chieftains or kings so anointed became feudal vassals of the ruler or rulers who anointed them. A few cases in point may be mentioned here. The Penukonda plates[24] of the Western Ganga king Madhava II states that two Pallava kings named Simhavarman and Skandavarman respectively anointed Ayyavarman and Madhava II on the Ganga throne. Even before that we know from the Hebbata grant[25] of the Triparavati-Kadamba ruler Vishnuvarman, son of Krishnavarman I that the Kadamba king was crowned by a Pallava king and the Kadamba king Santivarman of the Banavasi branch. Likewise, Ganga Polavira is said to have been crowned by a Kaduvetti and Vallavarasa.[26] Still later, the Ganga king Sivamara II is said to have been reinstated on the Ganga throne by Rashtrakuta Govinda III and Pallava Nandivarman II.[27]

It is not out of place here to point out that some of the terms found in the early Pallava inscriptions are reminiscent of similar terms found in the inscriptions of the Guptas who were the contemporaries of the Pallavas for at least two centuries. It would be worthwhile examining to what extent the Gupta administrative institutions and ideas influenced those of the Pallavas during the period.[28]

The points raised above and the stray pieces of evidence examined—though each of them by itself may not be considered sufficiently significant—when taken together collectively are useful for a better understanding of the subject and would suggest the need for a more careful and detailed study of the problem of feudalism in the South Indian context during the early medieval period of Indian history.

Notes and References

1. Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, I, p. 288.
2. Edward McNal Burns and Philip Lee Ralph, *World Civilization from Ancient to Contemporary* (Third Edition), Volume I, p. 410.
3. *ibid.*, p. 412.
4. While earlier grants like those of Maidavolu and Hirahadagali state that the transgressors of the grants were liable to be bodily punished the expressions used in the subsequent grants are more mild. They simply call the would-be transgressors, if any, as sinners to be punished and quote sayings taken from well-known *Dharmasastras* in support of the same. Was it due to the inability of the rulers to exercise judicial authority over the granted villages given off wantonly ?
5. The paucity of such records may probably be due to the perishable materials used for recording most of them because they were not meant for posterity. Further, since the feudal office became hereditary in character in due course and many of the chieftains and officers in the kingdom owed their position and status to their heritage, we do not get records which contain information on how they became the lords of their respective territory. In this regard one more point may also be noted. The number of inscriptions available for the ancient or early medieval period is definitely less than for the later medieval period. Hence the quantitative data collected from the early medieval epigraphs to understand a specific aspect of history, though meagre are to be studied with reference to a study of the same aspect as revealed by the later medieval epigraphs which are large in number.
6. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1941-42, Appendix A, No. 2; *Bharati* (Telugu), Volume XVIII, pp. 699 ff; T. N. Subramaniam, *Thirty Pallava Copper Plates* (Tamil), pp. 303-8.
7. *Indian Antiquary* (now defunct), Vol. V, No. 12, pp. 503ff.; T. N. Subramaniam, *Thirty Pallava Copper Plates* (Tamil), pp. 283-90.
8. It is interesting to note that the *Manasollasa* of the Rashtrakuta king Somesvara makes an express statement that one of the duties of the king was to make land grants in favour of refugee chiefs.
9. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, No. 1; ibid., Vol. II, No. 40; D.C. Sircar (ed.) *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, I, pp. 437-42; T. N. Subramaniam, *Thirty Pallava Copper Plates* (Tamil) pp. 383-88.
10. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1906, Appendix A, No. 1; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 233-36; T. N. Subramaniam, *Thirty Pallava Copper Plates* (Tamil), pp. 323-30.
11. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 74; *Indian Antiquary* (now defunct), Vol. VIII, pp. 273ff; T. N. Subramaniam, *Thirty Pallava Copper Plates* (Tamil), pp. 107-40.
12. *Udayachandra—A Great Pallava General*, Prof. Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Celebration Volume (unpublished).
13. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1892, Appendix A, No. 1; *ibid.*, 1912, Appendix A, No. 10; *South Indian Inscriptions*, II, No. 73; T. N. Subramaniam, *Thirty Pallava Copper Plates* (Tamil), pp. 141-80.
14. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*. 1903, No. 229; See also 'The Banas in South Indian History' by this author in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXIX, August 1951, pp. 167-8.
15. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1958-9, Appendix A, No. 10; *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India* (Madras) 1958-9, pp. 40-83; *Thirty Pallava Copper Plates* (Tamil), pp. 1-32.
16. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 91-8; *Thirty Pallava Copper Plates* (Tamil), pp. 61-74.

17. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1949-50, Appendix A, No. 39; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 89-97; *Thirty Pallava Copper Plates* (Tamil), pp. 75-76.
18. The question naturally arises, if the vassal was the *vijnapti* of a grant with his own authority and power over his territory then what would be the role of the *ajnapti*. Perhaps to carry on the elaborate procedures to be followed in exercising the land grants and to exercise and display the royal authority over the vassals, though nominal, the *ajnaptis* who were also feudal vassals in many instances; were employed. It should be noted that in many earlier grants where no *vijnapti* is found, i.e., when the king himself makes the grant on his own accord, he acts as an executor of the grant.
19. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1889, No. 76; *South Indian Inscriptions*, III, No. 42.
20. It is not known if the items mentioned were the only obligations or taxes due to the government during a particular period. The phraseology of the grants lend little support to such a supposition. The aim of the charters was only to mention a few common taxes and obligations more or less conventionally and say such impositions were all exempted.
21. Most of the early Pallava charters issued until the fifth century A.D. invariably state that the *devabhoga* lands were excluded from the granted village. The word *devabhoga* means the land under the enjoyment of temple, though it might have also been used to denote the king's land in the early period. This is a separate problem and yet to be tackled.
22. However, if the gift made was of a *kudi-ninga* nature (i.e. of unaffected or unchanged occupancy right) the cultivator's rights were kept as they were. In fact a broad distinction is made in the Chola inscriptions between the occupants of the village who paid land-taxes (i.e., those who owned pieces of land and paid taxes) (*Irai-kudigal*) and those who did not pay such a tax.
23. A series of label inscriptions from the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple at Kanchipuram, Chingleput district, Tamil Nadu. They throw voluminous light on the selection and coronation of king Nandivarman II. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1888, No. 37, *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, No. 135.
24. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIV, pp. 331-40.
25. *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1925, No. 118, p. 98.
26. P. B. Desai (ed.), *A History of Karnataka (from Prehistory of Unification)*, p. 68.
27. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. IV, Nl. 60 (Manne plates).
28. It is not unlikely that some ideas and institutions were inherited by the Pallavas from their predecessors the Satavahanas of the Deccan.

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ASPECTS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES IN NORTHERN INDIA BETWEEN THE EIGHTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES A.D.

B.N. Puri

The eighth century A.D. heralds the setting up of the Arab power in Sind while the end of the twelfth century witnesses the eclipse of the Hindu power in the North and a little more than a decade later the first Muslim kingdom with its sudden expanding boundaries emerges on the political horizon. These two *terminus a quo* and the *terminus a quem* points in India's political and cultural history characterize so many changes apart from the shift of the political pendulum from the disintegrated states to a more centralized political authority. This was not a sudden change. In fact, it took more than four hundred years for the forces of Islam to consolidate their authority and extend it over the Indian subcontinent, when in less than a hundred years, from the death of the Prophet, these were successful in overruning the areas from Spain and Gaul to Central Asia.

The Arabs, no doubt, were not slow to make incursions into the central belt of the country but they were contained by the Gurjara-Pratiharas and the Chalukyas, as recorded in inscriptions and equally noticed by the Arab historians. The progress of alien political forces in India was impeded not only because of the stabilized political situation in the country but also because of changes in cultural ethos. It provided a good response to the challenge posed by these external elements motivated by both political and religious zeal. This span of a couple of centuries was naturally one of commotion demanding change in ethos, and resulting in clash between the orthodox and heterodox principles and perspectives. It may, therefore, be suggested that the period was notable for transition from traditional values to those apparently appearing as modern in the Medieval period. It is the study of these changes—cultural and economic—which might now be made on the basis of available source material, epigraphic and literary with particular reference to the period of the Gurjara-Pratiharas.

The problem arising out of the Arab incursion in Northern India was not merely political, but equally of socio-religious and even economic importance. The reclamation of Hindus lost to Islam engaged the attention of Devala, the great jurist of the time then living at the bank of river Sindhu. The era of assimilating foreigners into the Hindu fold seems to have ended. The Muslims with their religious zeal were in no way prepared to toe the the line of the earlier invaders. In fact, the main purpose of their invasions was the expansion of Islam with force. Any king of India standing in their way was considered a foe, in the words of Arab writers, and the king of Jurz (Gurjara) was one of them (Eliot & Dowson, I, p. 64). In this struggle—political and ideological—both the sides, indigenous and foreign, were fully prepared. If the political forces of Islam could not establish themselves firmly in India, for wellnigh five hundred years, it was due to the political stability in the country with a strong centralized power and also because of the changed socio-religious outlook which welcomed back those lost to the alien faith. The Arab chroniclers too have recorded this fact, and the *Devalasmriti* sanctions their reconversion to Hinduism. Thus, Utbi speaks of Nawab Shah, formerly Sewak Pala or Sukhapal, one of the relations of Jaipala, who had been forcibly converted to Islam and had been appointed as governor over some of the territories conquered by Mahmud, again apostatizing towards the pit of plural worship. He had thrown off the slough of Islam and was holding conversation with the chiefs of idolatry regarding the casting off the firm rope of religion from his neck (*ibid.*, II. p. 33).

The *Devalasmriti* notices cases of those whose parents had embraced Islam—called in this *Smriti* as the *Mlechha* religion, as well as those women who had been ravished and had even conceived. The *Smriti* prescribes purificatory rites for such persons and also ensures their position in society as respectable persons without any stigma. Such women became pure after a period of menstruation (*rajasvalā*) with a three-day fast. "The foetus in the womb of such women," according to Devala, "is like a thorn (*salya*) in her body, and when this foreign substance is removed, and she has had her courses, she became pure as gold" (*Vinihsrtite tataḥ śalya rajaso va'pi dar'sane tada tataḥ sa suchyati nārī vimalam kāncanam yataḥ*, V. 51). The *Smriti* also prohibits visits to some frontier provinces, like Sindha and Sauvira, which one could only do on pain of performing *Śuddhi* on return (*Tripatidipa*, V. 239; Kane: *Dharma Shastra*, II. Pt. I, p. 391).

The Arab historians Biladuri and Al-Beruni also mention this social phenomenon. They bemoan the attempts that were made to reclaim back the Hindus who had been converted to Islam. Junaid, the governor of Sind, had sent expeditions into the interior of India, spreading terror in Rajasthan and Gujarat. This naturally stiffened Indian attitude towards Islam and its protagonists. In the time of Tamin and Junaid, many converts went back to their original fold. "While Hakim was the governor," writes Biladuri, "the people of Al-Hina apostatized and returned to idolatry except those of Kassa, and the Muslamans had no place of security in which they could live."

The reclamation of the Hindus seemed to have been a regular feature till the time of Al-Beruni (*c.* A.D. 1024). "I have been repeatedly told', says the Muslim chronicler, "that when Hindu slaves in Muslim countries escape and return to their country and religion, Hanans order that they should fast by way of expiation." The *Devalasmriti* also mentions keeping fasts like *Sandrāyana* and *Parāka* and *Pādakricchra* in similar circumstances. The contemporary and equally independent sources thus corroborate each other with regard to the elastic attitude of the Hindu social order in the face of Islamic challenge. Devala was instrumental in providing an appropriate answer to this external threat. The next question which one might pose is: Did the re-entry of the converted people cause any further division into caste stratification or did the original four-fold form of social structure continue with the reclaimed Hindus back to their original caste?

The usual classification was no doubt maintained, as the epigraphic records of the Pratihara period suggest. The Una inscription (EI. IX. p. 6) refers to Brahmans, *mahattaras* and merchants while the Rajor inscription (IA. XIX. p. 22) records *mahattaras*, *mahattamas*, merchants and *pravanis*. The *mahattaras* and *mahattamas* were no doubt elders of the locality and could be of any *dvija* caste. The Ghatiyala inscription of Kakkuka (EI. IX. p. 280, No. II) refers to the houses of Brahmans (*Vipras*), Vaisyas and *Prakriti*—translated by Bhandarkar as Ksatriyas—corresponding to *Payai* of the Matakitae inscription (v. 20), who were provided means of livelihood. In this context reference might be made to Ibn-Khurdaba's classification (Eliot and Dowson, I, 16-17) which is more elaborate and provides functional details as well. He mentions seven classes of Hindus: 1. *Sabkufria*—men of high castes from whom kings were chosen; *Brahma*—who totally abstained from wine and fermented liquor; *Kataria*—who indulged in drinks and who could give their daughters in marriage to the sons of the Brahma class; *Soundaria*—by profession husbandmen; *Basuria*—artificers and artisans; *Sandalia*—performers of menial duties and *Lahud*—entertainers with their women fond of adornments. Al-Idrisi (end of eleventh century) and Marvazi *c.* A.D. 1120) confirm this classification with minor variations regarding functions and attitudes. Inscriptions and texts no doubt confirm inter-caste marriages of the *anuloma* type between Brahmans and Ksatriyas. Haricandra Rohilladi—a Brahman had both a Brahman as well as a Ksatriya wife while Rajasekhara's wife was the Ksatriya Avantisundari. There is, however, no reference to a Ksatriya marrying a Brahman lady, thus confirming Arab testimony of Ibn-Khurdadba.

Caste did not impose any restriction on its members taking up vocation associated with an inferior caste. It appears from the accounts of Arab historians (Al-Idrisi and Marvazi) that some of the Ksatriyas were following the profession of the Vaisyas. The Gwalior inscription of the time of Bhoja I (EI. I. 159) mentions Memmaka, son of the Ksatriya Devavarman cultivating a field; while Icchuvaka and the oil-miller Jayasakti, probably Ksatriyas according to Hultssoch were trader and oil-miller respectively. The Ahar inscription (EI. I. XIX. p. 58—No. 6) also mentions a Ksatriya merchant Sahaka, son of Icchuka. Further, in Ibn Khurdadba's division *Soundaria*, the fourth class, is assigned the profession of the Vaisyas. This is something abnormal and the mistake occurs even in later accounts. According to Manu (X. 95.6), the occupation of higher castes could never be adopted by the people of the lower castes, though in times of adversity it was possible to do just the other way. The *Sandalia*, forming the sixth class and performing menial functions, seems akin to the *candala* class—the lowest of men. The last class of *Lahud* might constitute of gypsy women and their menfolk performing acrobatic feats.

The epigraphic records of this period also bring out further subdivisions of castes, based on geographical factors and academic distinctions. The Bhatas and the Saturvaidyas—modern Caturvedi or Caubey were sub-castes among the Brahmans--the former being conversant with all the four Vedas. The *gotras* and *sakhas* of the Brahmans are also mentioned, but not those of the Ksatriyas or Vaisyas. The Pehewa inscription (EI. I. 186) refers to *Thākurs*, a Ksatriya group, while another term *Prakriti* figures in the Mata-ka-sal record. One Ahar record (No. 2) mentions the donor Bhadraprakasa, son of Ansuvaka of the Vanikvarkkata caste who had migrated from Bhillamalla to the place. Another record (No. 10) from the same place, mentions a merchant named Madhava, son of Devanaga, who was a seller of perfume ((*gāndhika*) and belonged to the Matkur caste of this social group (*Gāndhika-māthura-jātiya vanik*). It is interesting to find people recording their original homeland even after migration and settlement at another place. This group consciousness seems to be a notable feature in the social life of the immigrants to a new place. Thus, Nagabhata of the Gwalior inscription had come from Anandpur in the Lata mandala, and Bhadraprakasa from Bhillamala. Acyuta of the undated Pehewa record (EI. I. 244) was the chief *Bhata* of the town of Kanauj. The immigration of persons and their families from a distant place, was likely to create some problems in the new area of their immigration. Migration on a mass-scale could have posed rehabilitation problem and probably caused some economic disturbance as well. It is quite likely that there might have been exodus of people from vulnerable areas due to social and political insecurity, consequent on Arab inroads. It is mentioned that some 18,000 people had migrated from Bhimal to Anandpur (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I appendix p. 739). If we accept the correctness of this statement, we have to presume that some unusual event had caused this exodus. Such an event could be periodic attacks by the Arabs. The conclusive evidence on this point is, however, wanting. Earlier, all the foreigners who came to India were assimilated in the social structure with proper status assigned to them. It, however, took some time for the Hunas to be merged in the social milieu. For the Arabs or other Muslims from Afghanistan it was a different story.

On the whole the social tendency in this period was towards rigidity and insularity aiming at the preservation of the *cāturvarnya* division. Society, no doubt, took a broad and healthy view in respect of those lost to the alien faith in order to put a brake on the process of decimation of Hindu population. Apostatization from the alien religion was, thus, encouraged. Consolidation and compactness in social groups were also notable features with wider areas of economic activities. In his gloss on Manu (VIII-221) relating to the rules prescribing punishment for breaking village and caste groupings, Medhatithi, the commentator supposed to be of this period, defines such groups or federation as those of various castes or of men belonging to the same castes following different avocations. The upheaval in the social order had certainly affected the life of the people in general, and need was felt for taking steps to prevent caste groups from disintegration.

The economic life in Northern India during this period was characterized by several notable features. Emphasis was laid on guilds or corporate bodies enjoining upon all its members to pay voluntary levy on purchase and sale transactions. Vocational mobility was, however, encouraged and internal and external trade were properly regulated with the utilization of natural resources for productive purposes. A fairly advanced stage of agricultural production is evident from a reference to several types of crops and an improved method of irrigation through the use of Persian wheel (*agrahata*). Thus, ground was being prepared for the emergence of a new economic order yet to follow in which feudalism plays a more effective role. Evidence on these aspects of economic life is provided by the inscriptions—Pratihara and those of contemporary ruling families, works of Rajasekhara and Madhatithi's commentary on Manu, as also by the accounts left by Arab chroniclers.

Guilds or *śrenī*—implying trade or professional bodies were not new to this period. Despite the long passage of time from the sixth century B.C. to *c.* A.D. 1000, or even later, these organized guilds exercised proper control over their members. Some old guilds had ceased to exist while quite a few new ones were also formed. The Gwalior inscription dated in the year 933 of the Vikrama era (EI. I. 159-66) records a perpetual endowment (*aksayanīvī*) with the stipulation that as ordered by the chief of the oil-millers (*tailika-mahattaka*), the members were to provide one *pālikā* of oil per mill (*Kolhuka*) on a specific day. These oil-millers were not merely from Sri Sarvesvarapur but also from other areas as well. Another guild from the same place—Gwalior (EI. I. 159)—records a perpetual endowment by the guild of gardeners or garland makers (*malakara*) providing fifty garlands everyday for the purpose of worship. This guild is also noticed in another record—Kaman (EI. XXIV. pp. 329ff)—for providing sixty garlands to be delivered at the temple of Viṣṇu and the Camuṇḍa shrine. There are also references to guilds of potters (*kumbhakāra*) and artisans (*sthāpati*) (EI. III. 266). The members of the former agreed to a permanent cess of one *pana* per wheel to be paid every month, and of the latter to one *drama* per month. Medhatithi refers (Trans. Part I, p. 188) to guild laws (*Śrenidharmah*) enjoining upon the traders to make declaration before the ruler and agreeing to pay a fixed rate of tax on their profits. Violation of the laws was punishable. Guild laws in later times seem to have been stringently enforced. According to *Smritcandrika* (Yadava : *Society & Culture in the 12th Century*, p. 285), the *śreni* had authority to regulate the activities of their members even to the extent of prohibiting the sale of a particular commodity on a specific day. Members violating the guild rules could be banished.

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Like the professional guilds, traders on the move, called *sārthavāha* were also subject to certain rules and regulations of their organized body. The Pehewa inscription (EI. I. p. 186 ff) records the meeting of horse dealers from different places at that place, who voluntarily agreed to a cess of two *dharmas* on the seller and one on the buyer per animal in the categories of horses, mares, mules and other animals for the temples situated at Kanyakubja, Gotirtha, Bhojapura near Kanauj, and Prithudaka. The money accruing from the cess was vested according to the stipulations in different *goṣṭhis*—the endowment managing bodies. Evidence is also adduced by the Ahar stone inscription No. 71 (EI. XIX. p. 59) on the corporate spirit of the *Saūvarnika* traders together with the two immigrants for a joint purchase of an *avari* shop and assigning it to a temple.

In the field of agriculture, even Brahmans and Ksatriyas resorted to it as an avocation. The Rajor inscription (EI. III. p. 266) records Gurjaras as cultivators. In most cases it was tilled personally but labour was available. The Haddala inscription (IA. XXIII. p. 14) endorses the right of the proprietor of land to extract forced labour which was transferred along with the gift. This transfer of the village by way of reward for learning (*vidyādhanam*) to Mahesvaracarya carried with it the rights and privileges of the landholder, namely, the share of the produce (*sadāni bhogabhāgah*) and of forced labour. This phenomenon is also noticed in the Sanjan copper-plate of Amoghavara (EI. XIII. p. 235) which mentions forced labour as the right accruing from the ownership of land, and it was transferred to the donee. Change of tenancy is equally noticeable. Thus, the Kaman inscription refers to there plough measures of land in the village of Untata, previously under cultivation by three Brahmans, at the time of making the gift of these being under one Eduvaka. Exploitation of tenancy rights was closely associated with feudalism which was coming up. The emergence of the *Samanta* system along with a class of landed aristocracy was a new phenomenon in agricullural economy.

From the above account it appears that the period under review witnessed several changes in the socio-economic spheres. One could notice some form of dichotomy with a flexible attitude towards the reclamation of those who were lost to the alien religion and at the same time adopting a more rigid attitude in controlling the activities of members of any guild or the professional class. Caste rules seemed to have been rigid and fixed but there was also the possibility of vocational mobility. There are references to Brahman cultivators as also horse dealers (Pehewa Inscription) and as betel seller (*Siyadani*).

According to Al-Beruni (Sachau II. p. 132) in his time, Brahmans could trade in clothes and betel nuts. There might have been certain external factors responsible for the migration of people from vulnerable areas compelling them to resort to activities other than those prescribed for them. The emergence of a new class of landed aristocracy was a phenomenon which got strengthened with the exploitation of the labour class through forced labour. This concept is noticed much earlier in the *Saddharmapundarīka* and also in the Kharoshthi records from Niya and Endere and Loulon in Central Asia. A fuller study of the data from other areas as well might present a more comprehensive picture of the socio-economic changes in this period of transition from ancient to the medieval period of Indian History.

20

MATHURĀ-GOVARDHANA REGION: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

R.C. Gaur

Mathurā is one of the seven religious places (*mahāpuris*) of ancient India, the other six being Kashi, Kāñchi, Haradwar, Ayodhya, Dwarka and Avantika. How old is Mathurā and its surroundings including Govardhana and Vrindāvana is very difficult to determine. Though no systematic exploration has been done so far around Govardhana hills, it is reported [1] that stone tools belonging to upper Paleolithic (Middle stone age) or even of earlier period have been found. A large number of microliths of Late Stone Age have also been noticed scattered in a wide area. Thus, while the tools of the former group push the antiquity of this region to at least 30,000 B.C. those of the latter group may be assumed to begin around 8,000 B.C. on the basis of data available for the same culture at Sarai Nahar Rai[2] (District Pratapgarh, U.P.). Presence of these tools at Govardhana does suggest that the Yamuna once flowed along these hills, where pre-historic man chose to settle. The next definite archaeological period in this region is represented by the Painted Grey Ware (PGW), a ceramic industry generally associated with the Later Vedic people who introduced iron for the first time in this region. On the evidence of Atranjikhera excavation,[3] this culture began in the upper Ganga basin around 1200 B.C. Evidently there is an archaeological hiatus in this region between the Late Stone Age and the Later Vedic Period and, therefore, extensive archaeological operation is a desideratum.

However, it appears that the Yādavas of Mathurā were the progeny of the Yadus of the Rigvedic period. After the defeat of the Yadus in the 'Battle of the Ten Kings' (*Daśarajña Yuddha*)[4], their one branch known as Satvata moved from the Sarasvatī region to Mathurā and settled down there around the Yamunā. Probably during their time the new territory became known as Śurasena. According to Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,[5] while river Chambal flowed in its south, Matsya, Kuru and Pañchala Janapadas formed the boundary of the Śurasena Janapada on its west, north and east respectively. This Janapada has been referred to in the various ancient texts including *Manusmriti*,[6] *Bṛihat Saṁhita*,[7] *Mahābhārata*,[8] as well as, in Buddhist[9] and Jain texts.[10] However, by the beginning of the Christian era this Janapada became known as Mathurā after its capital city and its epithet Śurasena was dropped.

According to the Puranic and epic traditions, Śatrughna, the youngest brother of Rāma, defeated Lavana,[11] son of Madhu, a local king. He captured the area and politically consolidated it. Soon after, he installed his son Subāhu[12] on the throne, who subsequently relinquished it in favour of his brother Sura Sena and it is suggested that after him actually the country got its name (Śura Sena). This account is indicative of a war between a branch of the Aryans and a non-Aryan local king. The area known as Mathurā or Madhurā after its local king was covered with dense forests and was cleared with the help of iron tools and new settlements[13] were established. Several literary sources confirm that Mathurā was an important place and it was known by various names,[14] such as Madhurā,[15] Madhupur or Madhupurī,[16] Mahurā,[17] Mathulā,[18] Madhusika[19] and Madhupaghna,[20] etc. The Purāṇas allege that after the death of Śatrughṇa the Satvatas who were initially ousted from power by Madhu (father of Lavana), the Asura kings once again were able to establish themselves under their leader Bhima Satvata. Bhima had two sons—Andhaka and Vrisni. While Andhaka and his successors continued to rule over Mathurā, Vrisnis had moved to Dwarkā on the eve of the Mahābhārata war. Ugrasena of the Andhaka family was the ruler of Mathurā. He was succeeded by his son Kaṅsa who proved to be a tyrannical king.

Kṛṣṇa's mother Devakī was the eldest daughter of Ugrasen's brother Devaka, and his father Vasudeva belonged to the Vrisna branch of the Yādavas, who was arrested along with his wife by his brother-in-law immediately after their marriage and, therefore, Kṛṣna was born in the prison. Vāsudeva's sister was married to Pāṇḍu and thus Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa were first cousins. After the Mahābhārata war Kṛṣṇa shifted to Dwārka being disgusted by the infights of the Yādavas leading to a kind of civil war which ruined them. The Purāṇas also tell that after the Mahabharata war, Arjuna tried to restore the power of the Yādavas to some extent. He got them settled down near Indraprastha and just before his great departure (*Mahāprasthāna*) installed Vajra (=Vajranābha),[21] the great grandson of Kṛṣṇa as their king.

What happened at Mathurā between the period from Mahābhārata war to the rise of the Mauryas is not known. Even the Purāṇas do not provide any definite information except telling us that during this period twenty-three kings ruled over Mathurā. Perhaps none deserved attention.

On the basis of the above literary account this long period may broadly be divided into two sub-phases: (i) the pre-Mahābhārata phase and (ii) the post-Mahābhārata phase. So far archaeological evidence is concerned the material remains of PGW period (*circa* 1200 B.C. to 600 B.C.) and the Northern Black Polished Ware (NBPW) period (*circa* 600 B.C. to 100 B.C.) have been found without any break followed by the remains of the early centuries of Christian era. So far PGW culture is concerned, it has been equated with the Later Vedic Period and the NBPW culture, with the period of the Mahājanapadas, the Nandas, the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas. Subsequent period is that of the Kuṣāṇas. However, we have not been able to identify the remains of the Early Vedic period, and as suggested a planned archaeological combing is necessary of the entire ancient Śurasena Janapada to reconstruct the chronological history of the region. Extensive explorations on the region have brought to light a rich heritage of Mathurā represented by sculptures and terracottas roughly ranging from the date of the Nandas down to the medieval period. The excavations at Sonkh,[22] and at Mathurā[23] have revealed the remains from about 1200-1000 B.C. down to the late historical period. Out of the two sites the former has yielded a long cultural sequence.

We have more literary sources as well as enough archaeological evidences for the post-Vedic period to reconstruct the history of that age. According to the *Anguttarnikāya*[24] (a Buddhist text) and the *Bhāgwatī Sutra* (a Jain text) Śurasena was one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas during the sixth century B.C. and Avantiputra was then the king. His mother was the daughter of Chanda Pradyota, the powerful king of Avanti Mahājanapada. Another daughter of Chanda Pradyota was married to Udayana, the king of Vatsa Kingdom. The matrimonial links are indicative of the fact that in those days Mathurā was an important seat of power[25] as Ujjain (capital of Avantī) and Kauśāmbī (capital of Vatsa). Gautama Buddha[26] perhaps visited Mathurā during the reign of Avantiputra and passed his twelfth rainy season (*Vassavasa*) there and delivered a few sermons. It is said that along with the king, many others then embraced Buddhism. According to the *Majjhima Nikaya*,[27] king Avantiputra (=*Avantiputto*) had met Mahākaccana (Mahākashyapa ?), a great disciple of the Buddha at Mathurā and had discussions with him. To this great Buddhist goes the credit of "first grammatical treatment of the Pāli language and after whom the oldest Pāli grammar is accordingly named."[28] Mahākashyapa's wife Bhadra Kapilani[29] belonged to Mathurā.

Though Śurasena continued to be independent state during the Śisunāga (or Harjanka) dynasty of Magadha, it was ultimately annexed to their empire by the Nandas. During the time of the Mauryas, Mathurā was a flourishing town. Megasthenes,[30] the Greek ambassador in the court of Chandragupta Maurya (321-298 B.C.), speaks eloquently about Mathurā. Arrian,[31] Pliny[32] and Ptolemy[33] have also praised Mathurā. The last one was so much impressed by its beauty that he called it the 'City of Gods'. The Greek writers also refer to another city of Śursena country, viz., Cleisobora (=Krishṇapura). Obviously this Krishaṇapura is none other than Vrindāvana.[34] Chandragupta Maurya's grandson

Aśoka had built several large *stupas* here on the bank of the Yamunā including one in the honour of Mogaliputta Tissa.[35] Though none of these survive today, they were intact at least till seventh century A.D. since Hiuen Tsang,[36] the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim saw them during his visit to Mathurā.

Mathurā's glory not only continued in the succeeding period under the Śuṅgas but enhanced enormously because of its all-round development. It was now not only a great religious centre but also a place of trade activities. Prominent trade routes passed through this city joining Takshashila in the north, Pāṭliputra in the east and Vidishā as well Ujjain in the south. According to Patanjali, the author of *Mahābhāshya*,[37] the people of Mathurā were more prosperous than those of Pāṭliputra and Saṅkāshya.

It was an era of revival of Vedic religion as well as neo-Brahmanism. Perhaps after the age of the Vedic Brahman *granthas*, Pushyamitra was the first Indian king who revived the Vedic rituals and performed two *Aśvamedha* (Horse sacrifices) and at least in one Patanjali himself acted as priest. However, this did not attract the attention of the Mathurā people, rather they ignored Vedic Indra who loved sacrifice. In due course he was replaced by Viṣṇu as supreme deity. The concept of incarnation was well established by this time and the worshippers of Viṣṇu and his incarnations since then became known as *Bhagavat*. Mathurā soon became the foremost centre of Bhagavatism particularly of Kṛṣṇa cult which continues to be so even today. Kṛṣṇa worship had started even earlier at Mathurā and Vrindāvana and by the second century B.C. his brother Samkarsana (Balarāma or Baladeva) also became a popular deity. Bhāgavatism became so popular that even foreigners were attracted towards it and many of them became its followers. Its one evidence survives even today at Vidishā (M.P.). It is an inscribed pillar[38] with Garuḍa (the celestial bird serving as vehicle of Viṣṇu) as its capital. It was installed by a certain Heliodorus, a Greek who was the envoy of king Antialkidas of Takshashilā to the king of Vidishā (modern Besnagar). Evidently he had embraced Brahmanism and professed to be a follower of Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa). Patanjali refers to the magnificent temples (*prasāda*) of this period. Unfortunately no temple of that period survives now. Proper excavations at selected places in the region of Mathurā may bring to light their remains. However, remains of two apsidal temples belonging to the third and second century B.C. have been found through excavations at Vidisha[39] and Atranjikhera[40] (District Etah, U.P.).

Besides Bhāgavatism other religions and sects also flourished side by side. Actually there was an outburst of activity in the fields of religion, literature and art during the Śuṅga period and Mathurā was a great centre of these activities. A large number of stone images and terracotta figurines representing Mathurā art have been well recorded and their several excellent specimens are housed at present in the Government Museum, Mathurā.

While Mathurā was thriving with various economic, cultural and religious activities, all of a sudden it had to face a set-back. According to the Yugapurāṇa of the Gārgi Saṁhitā, the Bactrians under their leader Demetrius invaded Sāket, Pañchāl and Mathurā and reached Kusumadhwajapura (Pāṭliputra) during the reign of Pushyamitra Śuṅga. Though it was a temporary phase it did affect the environment. There is a reference[41] to the second invasion. This time it was under the leadership of Menander who was defeated by Vasumitra, the grandson of Pushyamitra. However, his territory extended up to Mathurā. Menander, as Milinda, is well known for his discussions with his Buddhist teacher Nagasena on the Buddhist philosophy.[42]

The Śuṅgas continued to rule up to 72 B.C. when the last ruler, Devabbuti (or Devabhumi) was assassinated. It appears that the Kanvas, the successors of the Śuṅgas, then lost a major part of the territory. Successive waves of invasions allowed the foreigners, particularly the Śakas to establish themselves in the upper Gaṅgā Valley. During this period of disintegration, the Śuṅgas tried to re-establish themselve in small branches at various places including Ahichchhatra, Vidishā, Kausāmbi, Ayodhyā and of course Mathurā. Several coins[43] of Gomitra I and II, Brahmamitra, Dridhamitra, Suryamitra and Viṣṇumitra have been found in the region of Mathurā.

As stated above the Śakas established themselves in northern India after defeating the weak Mitra rulers. Thus, Mathurā was under their domination for about half a century (*c.* 100 B.C. to 57 B.C.) Their rulers are known through their coins as well as inscriptions. Among their early rulers were two brothers—Hagan and Hagamasa, who ruled jointly at least for some time. They bore the title of

Kshatrapa. Among other early rulers of this dynasty were Śivaghoṣa and Śivadatta. As their names suggest, it appears that some of the Śakas had embraced Śaivaism. Their next king was Rajuvula, who seems an important personality. From an inscription[44] carved on a sand-stone lion, his chief queen Kambojika (=Kamuia) had constructed a *stupa* over the relics of the Buddha as well as a monastery known as *Guha Vihara*. There are other inscriptions also on it all in Kharoshthi script and Prākrit language. One of them records the geneology of three Kshatrapa rulers. This lion, which was picked up from Saptarsi mound was once crowning capital of a pillar. At present this sculpture is housed in the British Museum, London.

Rajuvula was succeeded by his able son Sodāsa in about 80 B.C. He ruled for about twenty-three years. Though the lion inscription referred to above, designates him as '*Kshatrapa*', in other inscriptions his title is given as '*Mahākshatrapa*'. He donated some land to the monastery constructed by his mother Kambojika. During his period all major religions, viz., Bhāgavatism, Buddhism with its two sects, and Jainism flourished simultaneously. Prolonged philosophical discussions were held particularly amongst the Mahāyānist and the Hīnayānist Buddhists and sometime scholars from outside were also invited to favour one side or the other.

An inscription[45] of twelve lines on a red sand-stone lintel, housed in Government Museum, Mathurā, records that a certain Vasu constructed a doorway with beautifully carved lintel, an alter (*Vedicā*) and a *Chatussālā* in a temple dedicated to Vasudeva (Kṛṣṇa) at Mahāsthān. Likewise a stone slab[46] records that Amohini, a Jain lady had installed a worship tablet (*ayagapatta*) at Mathurā. These inscriptions and other remains clearly indicate that Mathurā attracted the people of different religions which led to different types of social and cultural activities.

By this time the Śaka-Sātavāhana struggle was at its peak and ultimately the latter ousted the Śakas from power and their dynasty came to an end almost simultaneously both at Ujjain and Mathurā. This turmoil gave an opportunity to a local Datta dynasty to establish their rule at Mathurā, for a short period. They are known through their coins.[47] Among their rulers were Purushadatta, Uttamadatta, Ramadatta I & II, Kamadatta, etc. Archaeologically this entire period materially and culturally may be termed as the NBPW phase. With the emergence of the NBPW, second urbanization started. From about sixth to seventh century B.C. to the rise of the Nandas northern India passed through a gradual process of urban growth when the NBPW, a de-luxe ware with its shining lustre was as attractive industry. Deforestation now started on a large scale. New cities and towns sprang up; some of them were the capitals of sixteen Mahājanapadas. A variety of tools for farmers made of iron[48] as a well as a variety of grains testifying to a stage of surplus production, necessary for the growth of urbanization have been found. The wide distribution of the NBPW suggests inter-regional contacts and implies, therefore, a considerable development of commerce confirmed by the literary sources also. In the next phase of the NBPW beginning *c.* 350 B.C. and corresponding with the age of the Nandas and the Mauryas, the brick structures began to emerge on a large scale, including the creation of the defences. The barter system began to give way to cash purchase with the introduction of a coinage system in the preceding phase. Now we find personal seals and sealings and edicts engraved on rocks and pillars indicating the spread of literacy.

However, Mathurā rose to high eminence during the time of the Kuṣaṇas, when it was more or less like a second capital. Their main capital was at Purushpur—modern Peshawar. Now, this city and the entire region around it developed as a great centre of art, architecture, trade and commerce, religion and philosophy and of many other activities. Coins of Wima Kadphasis, an important ruler of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty, bearing figure of the king on one side and that of Śiva on the other side have been found at Mathurā. Wima was succeeded by Kaṇiṣka in *c.* A.D. 78. He was a devout Buddhist and had convened the Fourth Buddhist Council at Kumdalavanagram in Kashmir under the presidentship of Vasumitra. This conference divided Buddhism into two distinct sects: Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. The followers of the former sect, as its name denotes, were in majority. Now, for the first time the need was felt for having images of the Buddha, on the pattern of the Brahmanic deities or Bodhisattvas, for worship purposes. Therefore, meticulous efforts were made to finalize the standards and norms for producing such images, whether in stone or terracotta or in any material having plasticity and Mathurā became the topmost centre for such a production. In due course 'Mathura School of Art' made a niche for itself in the world of art. Though artists of Mathurā were paying more attention during this period in producing the sculptural pieces relating to Buddhism to meet their growing demand, they showed the same skill in carving the Brahmanic and Jain images too. Secular themes were also depicted with the same enthusiasm. Several excellent images relating to early Bhāgavatism belong to this period. As a matter of fact Mahāyānist sect of Buddhism was very much influenced by Bhāgavatism and therefore the artists devoted their attention equally in carving the images of both the sects.

A great stride was made in the realm of architecture as well. Several *stupas* and monasteries were made at Mathurā during the reign of Kaṇiṣka. His grandson Huviṣka (*c*. A.D. 106-138) who was also a Buddhist continued the mission of his grandfather, rather accelerated it. He built a very large Buddhist monastery known after his name as Huviṣka *Vihara*. However, he was liberal in his outlook and on his initiative an ancient Bhāgavat temple was repaired.[49]

Along with Buddhism, Jainism had also made its firm footing at Mathurā from the second century B.C. and as is evident from the dedicatory inscriptions the Jains were a flourishing community at Mathurā during the Kuṣaṇa period. Even after the downfall of the Kuṣāṇas, the economic position of the Jains continued to be strong under the Nāga rulers[50] who came in power at Mathurā around A.D. 200. Virasena was the most famous Nāga king of Mathurā, whose coins have been found not only from Mathurā but also from Bulandshahar, Etah and Farrukhabad. The followers of Shwetambar Jain sect had convened a great assembly under the presidentship of Skandil, the famous Jain scholar of that time in about A.D. 313 to determine the correct version of the Jain texts.

Now for the first time the Nāga cult made its great impact. A large number of Nāga images and stone panels depicting the Nāga kings and queens in their court, etc., were produced during this period. The concept of Balarama being the incarnate of Sheshanāga was highlighted. The Sonkh excavation also yielded several stone panels relating to the Nāgas. This includes an excellent piece depicting a Nāga king in his court receiving gifts, which is now exhibited in the Government Museum, Mathurā. The excavation also brought to light remains of two Nāga temples. One of them is a unique example of an apsidal temple. In due course the Nāga cult was assimilated in Brahmanism. Its holy symbol Nāga (here Sheshā) became celestial bed of Viṣṇu, ornament of Śiva and a sort of weapon (a *yudha*), in the hands of Gaṇeśa. Certain elements of the Nāga cult were also incorporated in Buddhism and Jainism. A several-hooded Nāga forms a canopy over the head of Supārshvanath as well as Pārshvanath, the two famous Jain Tirthankaras. Nāgas have also been shown protecting the *stupa* of the Buddha. Mathurā artists have very skilfully translated these aspects in stone which are our art treasures. This was the period of assimilation of Bhāgavatism, Buddhism and Jainism, a process which continued during the Gupta period.

With the end of the Nāga rule, Mathura's political independence came to an end. According to the Purāṇas, several Nāga kings ruled over Mathurā. Samudragupta (*c*. A.D. 355-375) annexed Mathurā to his empire after defeating its last Nāga ruler Ganapatināga.[51] Chandragupta II Vikramaditya (c. A.D. 375-414) showed personal interest in Mathurā's development as a centre of Bhāgavatism. It is evident from the fact that his three inscriptions[52] have been found from Mathurā. His first inscription belonging to his fifth regnal year is inscribed on an octagonal red sand-stone pillar which was found near the Rangeshwar Mahadeva temple. It records the installation of two Śiva images known as Upamiteshwar and Kapileshwara, by a certain Uditacharya. The next two were found from Katra Keshvadeva. One of them indicates that the king performed there an act of great religious importance. Most probably he built a magnificent temple at the place where Kṛṣna was born; a large number of Vaiṣṇava images found at this place also testify to this assumption.

During his time Fahien[53] (A.D. 399-411), the Chinese pilgrim came to India to collect the Buddhist texts. At Mathurā, he found twenty monasteries (*Sangharama*) on either side of the Yamuna in which 3000 Buddhist monks lived. He also saw six *stupas* built in the memory of Sariputra, Ananda and Maudgalayana and three for the Tripiṭakas—*Sutta*, *Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma*.

Mathurā, however, felt a great jolt when it was attacked by the Hūns[54] under the leadership of Tormana some time in the later half of the fifth century A.D. The Hūṇs demolished and burnt indiscriminately most of the religious structures including the magnificent temple built by Chandragupta Vikramaditya. They damaged the images and ruined the city. A hoard of coins of the Hūns found from Mathurā indicates their stay at Mathura for some time.

However, this tragedy did not subdue the spirit of the people of Mathurā for long; they soon became busy with their cultural and religious activities. Hiuen Tsang,[55] the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, who visited Mathurā in A.D. 635, spoke very highly about the people of Mathurā. He found them devout and devoted to learning. During his visit he saw those twenty Buddhist monasteries functioning, which had been seen by Fahien. However, there were now only 2000 monks residing there instead of 3000 noticed by Fahien. He also refers to five Deva temples and three *stupas* of Aśoka's time. Obviously these had escaped the Hūns' fury. After Harṣa's death, Mathurā was put under the control of Yashovarman of Kanauj. Since then and until the rise of the Gurjara-Pratiharas in the ninth century, Mathurā's cultural activity remained at a low ebb.

For about two centuries under the Pratiharas, Mathurā again revived its activities. The Bhāgavat cult now got a new spur and artists became busy in producing large number of images of various gods and goddesess of this cult. Many of the surviving images reveal the spirit of that age. However, in A.D. 1017 Mathurā received a severe blow at the hands of Mahmud of Ghazna. At that time Mathurā was a prosperous town[56] dotted with magnificent temples and other structures. As in the invasion of Huṇs this time too temples were plundered and the city was sacked. "The Sultan gave orders that all the temples should be burnt with naphtha and fire and levelled with the ground."[57] However, Mathurā got some respite for a short period during the reign of the Gāhadwālas who emerged on the scene by the end of the eleventh century. Vijaya Chandra, a famous king of this dynasty, built a beautiful big temple in A.D. 1150 at the birthplace of Kṛṣna. However, in A.D. 1194 Gāhadwālas were defeated by Qutb-ud-din in the battle of Chandawar[58] (District Etawah) in which their last king Jaichandra was killed. Thus Mathurā came under Muslim rule.

As has been stated above Mathurā suffered severe jolts from time to time. The Bactrians were first to plunder it during the reign of the Śuṇgas, followed by the Hūns during the Gupta period, Mahmud of Ghazna in A.D. 1017, Nadir Shah in 1739 and Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1757. But it not only survived but after each set-back its cultural activity took a new stride. However, with the revival of the Bhakti movement during the medieval period, Mathurā became its epicentre. During the reign of Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605) and Jahangir (A.D. 1605-1627) Mathurā once again tried to reach its earlier heights. With its cultural revival during Akbar's period unprecedented development was seen in the field of literature, art and music. Places related to Kṛṣṇa and his celestial plays, including Mathurā, Vrindāvana, Gokula, Govardhana Mahavana, Barsana, became prominent and there was a sort of competition in temple building at these places. The rulers of many states built magnificent temples at Vrindāvana and Govardhana.[59] Vir Singh Deo, the Bundela King of Orchha, constructed a very large temple at Keshavadeva, the birthplace of Kṛṣṇa, spending about thirty-three lakhs of rupees. Darashikoh, son of Shahjahan, made a beautiful boundary around it.[60] European travellers like Bernier,[61] Manucci[62] and Travernier[63] were extremely impressed by its beauty. Various saints and poets including Surdas and other disciples of Vallabhacharya, Hita Harivamsha, Shri Bhatta, Hari Rama, Vyas, Dhruvadasa, Raskhan enriched the Braja literature during this period. This period had the distinction of having the great devotees like Rupa, Sanatana, Jiva and Swami Haridasa at Mathurā, Vrindāvana and Govardhana. Akbar himself came to meet[64] Swami Haridas at Nidhivana.

Bhāgavatism in Mathurā Region

Among the several Hindu sects of medieval India, none spread so widely as the one connected with the teachings of Vallabhacharya (A.D. 1475-1531). This great Sanskrit scholar and religious missionary hailing from Telugu region (to be precise, from Kakurapprahu) when moved to northern India, settled first at Mathurā, rather at Gokula for a considerable time and therefore became known as Gokula Gosain. Subsequently he went to Varanasi and Puri. Throughout his life he continued the teaching of the Vaiṣṇava cult. Soon he became popular. However, he earned immense fame when he discovered an idol of Kṛṣṇa at Govardhana hills, which subsequently was installed there in a temple. After him, his grandson Gokulnath took the missionary task of his grandfather and brought a large number of people from all ranks of society within the fold of Kṛṣṇa cult. These disciples hastened to build shrines of Kṛṣṇa and the *mathas* of their guru in large numbers and made provisions for their maintenance.

Vallabha's religion was very simple. It advocated the worship of Viṣṇu in the form of Kṛṣṇa. In doctrine it was within the orbit of the Vaiṣṇava philosophy of Ramanuja and nearer to the concept of Shri Chaitanya.[65] It emphasizes two aspects—grace (*pusti*) and devotion (*bhakti*). According to Vallabha, Śri Kṛṣṇa is the highest Brahman and is called Puruṣottama as the most excellent of all beings. All his sports or plays are eternal, which he displays with his devotees (*bhaktas*) in the eternal *Vaikuntha* which includes Vrindāvana. Ultimate fruit of this devotion is submission to the eternal sports of Śri Kṛṣṇa. "These external sports are like those which Kṛṣṇa went through when he became incarnate in Braja or Brindavana."[66]

Vallabhacharya's sect, as it progressed, gave impetus to the growth of art and architecture, painting, literature, dance and music, all dedicated to Kṛṣṇa's *bhakti*. Grand temples were built not only in Mathurā and Vrindāvana but also in Rajasthan and Gujarat. Literary creations of Surdas and Mirabai are well known. Chaturbhuja Sharma's *Prem Sagar*, Keshava's *Rasikpriya*, Bihari's *Satsai*, all were inspired by the Kṛṣṇa cult. Rajput paintings fully inspired by Kṛṣṇa cult have won world-wide fame. However, those painted in Kangra Valley and Jammu district are more profuse. They display great mystical refinement and tenderness. "The paintings are fraught with the fragrance of flowers and the deep shade of summer woods. Intense passion and delight are there; there are great moods of ecstasy and devotion."[67]

Revival of the Bhakti movement in India during the medieval period proved to be the sheet-anchor for the depressed classes of the society. The caste-ridden Hindu society divided into innumerable sects, burdened with arduous and expensive rituals was in crying need of reform. The torch-bearers of the Bhakti movement[68] had two-fold objectives, viz., spiritual awakening and social reform. It was a socio-religious movement to emancipate the society from depression. The advent of Islam with minimum doctrine and ritual proved a great challenge. Its central doctrine was the unity of God, and equality and brotherhood of Muslims. So the saints of the Bhakti movement looked back to their ancient philosophy to trace something which was near matching and which could give self-reliance. The germs of the Bhakti cult are found in the Vedic hymns to Varuna, Savitri and Usha, replete with sentiments of piety and devotion and are clearly evident in the later Upaniṣads. Subsequently it was propounded in *Bhagvadgita* in a simple way in which one is asked to relinquish all religious rites and actions and to take refuge in God and He will save from all sins.[69]

Bhāgavata Pūrana and *Mahabharata* lay stress on the doctrine of grace but former's emphasis is more on unmotivated devotion to God. Narada says, "Among the devotees of God there is no distinction of birth, learning, appearance, family wealth, religious observances and the like since they all belong to Him."[70] Thus the cult of Bhakti is open to all. It is catholic, universal and democratic. Likewise, the Mahāyāna sect of the Buddhism centred round the Buddha and Bodhisattvas. Particularly Amitabha is like Viṣṇu. "The goal of the devotees of Amitabha is not *Nirvana* (emancipation) but admission into His presence in His heaven."[71] This identical view about devotion in both the sects accelerated the concept of qualified Brahman (*saguna*). In due course the Purāṇas also emerged with this philosophy around 200 B.C., with the result that image worship became popular in both the sects. Since the second century B.C. idol-making had become a movement at Mathurā. A large number of images were chiselled out for the purpose of worship, by a band of sculptors.[72] Many of them, fortunately, have been found and at present are housed in the Mathura museum. They are treasures of our heritage. It would be worthwhile to refer to a few of them.[73]

It appears that the celestial Trinity along with Kṛṣṇa received foremost attention from the artists. The

Mathura Museum houses two images of Brahmā. One of them (No. 382) is unique and remarkable artistically; the three heads of the deity are shown in a line and the fourth one is at the back. In a medieval specimen (No. D 22). Brahmā is shown with his consort Savitri. However, the images of Viṣṇu were carved with more care. Among the three specimens of the Kuṣaṇa period, while in two Viṣṇu has been shown with eight arms (Nos. 1010, 3520), in the third he has four arms. There is another image of Viṣṇu with four arms, which belongs to the Gupta period. It is an excellent specimen of art in which the facial expression and details of ornaments have been delicately carved out. Two interesting images, one of Maha Viṣṇu with three heads of Nṛsiṁha, Varāh and Viṣṇu together and the other depicting Viṣṇu's universal manifestation (*virata rupa*) have also been found.

Śiva was a popular deity of the Kuṣāna rulers. In a sculptural piece (No. 2661) the Śakas have also been shown worshipping a *śivaliṅgam*. There are several *liṅgams* belonging to different periods, with which Śiva's one face (*ekmukhiliṅgam*), four faces (*chaturmukhiliṅgam*) and five faces (*pañchmukiliṅgam*) have been carved out. However, the most interesting specimen is the one in which Rāvaṇa has been shown trying to lift Kailash mountain with Śiva and Pārvatī on it. Perhaps the artist drew inspiration for it from the Kailāsh temple of Ellora. Images of Ardhanarishwara, being a composite depiction of Śiva and Pārvatī in one body have also been found.

Though not many images of Kṛṣṇa have been found, at least three excellent specimens are available. In one sculptural specimen (No. 1344) of the second century B.C., Vasudeva is shown crossing the Yamunā holding newly-born Kṛṣṇa over his head. Another piece (No. D 47) depicts Kṛṣṇa holding Govardhana up with his one hand and in third specimen (No. 3374) Kṛsna has been shown trampling Kaliānāga. These two specimens belong to the Gupta period.

Several images of Balarama are also available. They range from the Śuṅga period to the Rajput period. The earliest one which is now housed in the Lucknow Museum shows Balarama holding a plough and a wooden pestle (*musala*). Among other noteworthy images are those of Agni, Kamdeva, Indra, Kartikeya, etc. Likewise, several images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas have also been found. Among these the standing image of the Buddha belonging to the Gupta period is artistically superb.

A large number of temples were also built from time to time during this long period. However, most of them were demolished by the invaders during the medieval period. Fragmentary pieces of their doorways, lintels, pillars, windows, *Kirtimukhas*, etc., are still found during the course of explorations. Among the extant temples, that of Govinda Deva in Vrindāvana is a fine specimen of temple architecture. It was built by Kachhwaha king Mansingh at the instance of his two Gurus (spiritual teachers) Rupa and Sanatan and with the permission of Akbar. The emperor perhaps gave some financial assistance also from the royal treasury for this work. This temple is built on a 3.66 metre (12 ft.) high plinth and measures about 60 m. x 37 m. (200 ft. x 120 ft.). It is made of red sand-stone. Mansingh also built another temple at Govardhana known as Hardeva temple. It combines the styles of Mughal and Hindu architecture. The third medieval temple is that of Jugul Kishore, built in A.D. 1627. It is a good architectural specimen of early seventeenth century.

The above cultural activity should be reviewed against the political backdrop. As already stated, with the advent of Islam and gradual spread of Muslim rule, the situation had changed and *Saguna bhakti* was revived once again more explicity by Ramanuja. The aim of his teaching was "the refutation of Śaṅkara's absolute monism and *mayavada* and establishment of *bhakti* within the philosophy of Vedanta."[74] Subsequently, Ramananda advocated the cult of Rama and Vallabhacharya the cult of Kṛṣna. The writings of Tulsidas and Surdas made these two cults immensely popular.

However, we are concerned here with Kṛṣna cult. Though Vallabhacharya and his disciples popularized it, Shri Chaitanya gave it new outlook giving detailed idea of Radha-Kṛṣṇa. He organized *Sankirtana*, singing the name of God in chorus with the accompaniment of musical instruments and plunged himself into it. "In his spiritual trances sometime he felt immense joy of union with Shri Krishna but often was subjected to unbearable pangs of separation from Him always identifying himself, with Shri Radha."[75] Rupa Goswami, Sanatana Goswami and their nephew Jiva Goswami were sent to Vrindāvana by Shri Chaitanya. They moved around to explore the places related to the sacred memory of Kṛṣṇa.

These were reclaimed, transformed and subsequently declared as places of pilgrimage. The Kṛṣṇa temples built at these places became centres for carrying the message of universal Love (the *rasa* cult) to the people.

"The Chaitanya school enjoins that if a person wishes to serve Krishna at Vrindavana with *madhura rati*, he should always think that he is a young *gopi*, beautifully dressed, attending on Radha in her love-pastimes with Krishna, being principally subordinate to Rup-manjari, the chief of Radha's attendants known as *manjaris*."[76] But it is not an easy task specially for a beginner and therefore, he should follow the nine principles of bhakti (*navadha bhakti*) enumerated in the *Bhāgavata*.

The prominent figure in this chain of *rasa* cult was Swami Haridas, the mystic-saint and exponent of divine music. Though Vallabhacharya (A.D. 1478-1530), Chaitanya (A.D. 1485-1533) and Swami Haridas (A.D. 1478-1573) were the proponents of the same cult, each one of them had his own way of exposition quite distinct from each other. We have discussed about Vallabha and Chaitanya above and in that light we may now analyse, very briefly, the concept and thought of Swami Haridas.

Swami Haridas is believed to be the reincarnation of Lalita Sakhi, the celestial *gopi*. He was singer of *dhrupad* which became the basis of *Rasa Lila* (Kṛṣṇa's divine sports) and traditional temple singing. Even today the temples of Mathurā and Vrindāvana vibrate with religious songs and hymns with the same musical tunes as introduced by the Swami. Swami Haridas as well as his contemporary Surdas (A.D. 1478-1583) had longer time to convey their message to the masses than Vallabhacharya and Chaitanya. Moreover both of them stayed throughout their life in Vrindāvana or in its vicinity and therefore both were able to leave deep imprints of their messages on the people around them. Though Swami Haridas has not written much, his one hundred and ten hymns of Kalimala and eighteen of Astadasa Siddhanta are full of emotion, and are picturesque too. Its repeated recitation gradually reveals its efficacy and only then one realizes that it is not the volume but content which counts. His all hymns are musical divided into twelve ragas, the maximum being thirty under raga *Kanharan* which seems a favourite raga followed by raga *Kedaran*, *Kalyana*, *Sarang* and *Vibhasa* respectively as the following chart shows :

Ragas	KALIMALA *Number of Hymns*	ASTADAŚA SIDDHANTA *Number of Hymns*
Kanharan	30	
Kedaran	22	
Kalyana	12	6
Sarang	11	
Vibhasa	10	4
Bilawal	2	1
Malar	8	
Gaud	2	
Basant	5	
Gauri	6	
Nata	2	7
Asavari	Nil	
	110	18

Like *Surasagar* of Surdas, Kalimala also provides themes for paintings. While the former inspires the painter to depict Kṛṣṇa's manifestation as child (*bala lila*), the latter implores one to depict Kṛṣṇa's 'Divine Plays' (*Rasalila*) in different moods and environments. Swami Haridas is rightly called 'Personification of Divine Ecstasy' (*Rasik*). His music, poetry and innovation of ecstasy, dance, all combined, made him a unique personality and saviour in the darkness cast over the country. He attracted one and all without any discrimination. Tansen who was his disciple became the most accomplished musician of Akbar's court. Having been astonished by Tansen's performance, the emperor[77] undertook a journey to Vrindāvana and walked up to Midhvan on foot to meet the Swami. Akbar was overwhelmed with Swami's spiritual attainments.

Notes and References

1. Information from Dr. V.S. Wakankar, Vikram University, Ujjain.
2. TF 1104 : Sarai Nahar Rai (U.P.) 8395 ± 110 B.C. (14 determination), cf. D.P. Agrawal, Sheela Kusumgar, *Pre-historic Chronology and Radiocarbon Dating in India*, Delhi, 1974, Table 4, p. 61.
3. R.C. Gaur, *Excavations at Atranjikhera*, Delhi, 1983, p. 18.
4. *Rigveda*, VII. 18; 19; 33; 83.
5. cf. F.E., Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Varanasi, 1962, pp. 351-52.
6. II. 19.
7. XV. 3.
8. cf. *Virata parva*, IV, 1.9.
9. *Anguttara Nikāya*, I, 213, IV, 252, etc., *Mahāvāstu*, I-34.
10. cf. *Bhagvatī Sutra*.
11. *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, I, 12.4, *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttarakāṇḍa, 70.5.
12. *Raghuvaṁśa*, XV, 36.
13. cf. *Rāmāyanā, op. cit.*
14. cf. K.D., Bajpai, *Mathura* (Hindi), Lucknow, 1955, p. 2.
15. cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttarkāṇḍa, 108-10.
16. cf. *ibid.*, 70.5.
17. cf. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX, p. 375.
18. cf. Luders : *List of Inscriptions*, No. 1345, p. 165.
19. cf. Hemchandra, *Abhidhāna Chintāmani* vide Bajpei, *op. cit.*
20. cf. Prakāsh Yādava, *Vaijayantī Kosha* vide Bajpei, *op. cit.*
21. Skandapuraṇa, Vishṇukhaṇḍa.
22. Cf. *Indian Archaeology—A Review* (IAR), 1966-67, pp. 41-43; 1968-69, p. 40; 1969-70, pp. 42-43; 1970-71, pp. 39-40; 1971-72, pp. 47-48; 1972-73, pp. 34-35.
23. *IAR*, 1954-55, pp. 15-16; 1973-74, pp. 31-32; 1974-75, pp. 48-49; 1975-76, pp. 53-54.
24. Vol. IV, pp. 252, 256, 260.
25. *Dipavamsa*, (ed.) Oldenberg, p. 27.
26. *Anguttara Nikaya*, II, 57; Vimanavatthu Commentary (P.T.S.), pp. 118-19.
27. II, pp. 83ff.
28. cf. B.C., Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, Poona, 1943, p. 41; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 36.
29. *Anguttara Nikaya*, II, 57.
30. cf. J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, Calcutta, 1936.
31. *ibid.*, p. 206.
32. cf. *Natural History*, 6.22.
33. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, Calcutta, 1927, p. 124.
34. cf. A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography* (ed. R.C. Majumdar), p. 429.
35. cf. E.J., Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 506.
36. T., Waters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Delhi, 1961, Vol. I, p. 301.
37. V. 3.57.
38. cf. S., Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Oxford, 1920, Vol. II.
39. cf. M.D., Khare, 'Discovery of a Vishṇu Temple near the Heliodorus Pillar' in *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 13-14 (1978-79), pp. 21-27.
40. R.C., Gaur, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-57.
41. cf. Kalidasas *Malavikagnimitra*.
42. cf. *Milindapanho*.
43. cf. J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India* (*in the British Museum*), London, 1936; A., Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, London, 1981; V.A., Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Oxford, 1906.
44. cf. Law, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
45. R. Chand, *Early History of the Vaish Sect*, pp. 88-89.
46. cf. Bajpei, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
47. cf. *Catalogue of the Coins, op. cit.*
48. Gaur, R.C., *op. cit.*, pp. 453-56.
49. Elliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. I, p. 113.
50. cf. P.L. Bhargava, *Prachin Bharat Ka Itihasa* (Hindi), Lucknow, 1966, p. 285.
51. cf. 'Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta' n *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, (ed.) J.F. Fleet, Varanasi, 1963.
52. *ibid.*
53. H.A., Giles, *The Travels of Fa-hien*, London, 1923.
54. Fleet, *op. cit.*, Bhitri Pillar Inscription.
55. Waters, *op. cit.*
56. cf. E., Sachau, *Alberuni's India* (2 Vol.) London, 1910.
57. cf. K.A. Nizami, (ed.) *Politics and Society During the Early Medieval Period: Collected Works of Professor Mohammed Habib*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1981, pp. 55-56. Abu Nasr Muhammad-bin-Muhammad al Jabbar al-Utbi, the Mir Munshi of Mahmud has given a detailed account of this invasion in his book, *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, cf. English tr. by Rev. James Reynolds, London, 1958.
58. cf. Mohammed Habib, *ibid.*, p. 116.
59. cf. Bajpei, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.
60. Darashikoh tried to find common ground for Hindu-Muslim unity and was responsible for the translation of the *Upanishads*.
61. cf. *Travels in the Mogul Empire* by Francois Bernier, A. Constable (tr.) Westminster, 1891.
62. cf. *Storia do Mogor*, Manucci, W. Irvine (tr.), Calcutta, 1966.

63. cf. *Travels in India by Tavernier*, Crooke (tr.), 1977, New Delhi.
64. cf. J.N. Sarkar, (tr.) *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* of Safi Mustaid Khan, Lahore, 1981, p. 60.
65. cf. *Chaitanya Charitamrita* for Vallabha's interview with Chaitanya at Puri.
66. cf. *Saints of Northern India from Ramananda to Ramtirtha*, Madras, 1947, pp. 96-98.
67. *ibid.*
68. cf. Jadunath Sinha : 'Bhagavata Religion : The Cult of Bhakti' in *the Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, 1956, pp. 146-157.
69. XVIII, 66.
70. *Narada Sutra*, 72, 73 vide *the Cultural Heritage*, *op. cit.*
71. Tarachand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, Allahabad, 1946, p. 26.
72. cf. Bajpei, *op. cit.* 33ff.
73. This close unanimity enabled the authors of the Puranas to accept the Buddha as one of the incarnates of Viṣṇu.
74. cf. Tarachand, *op. cit.*
75. Radha Govind Nath, 'A Survey of the Chaitanya Movement' in the *Cultural Heritage of India*, Calcutta, 1956, Vol. IV, pp. 186-200.
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21

LINGUISTICS IN INDIA

Vidhata Mishra

Language, as we all know, plays an immense role in our life—the life of an individual, of a country and of a nation. How great is this role, it is difficult to estimate properly. The effects of language are quite remarkable and include much of what distinguishes man from the animal. We Indians, I am proud to say, have the unique merit and distinction, which is indeed very great in the history of civilization, of having realized at an early date, the importance of linguistic studies. We applied our innate reflective nature and speculative spirit to observing the facts of language and building up a grammar of our own speech. India may justly claim to be the cradle of the linguistic science. India is the home for linguistic studies since the Vedic period. There were so many linguists in ancient India, as referred to in different, *Prātiśākhyas*, *Śiksās* and grammars such as Agniveśya,[1] Anyatareya.[2] Āgastya,[3] Ātreya,[4] Indra,[5] Ukhya,[6] Audavraji,[7] Aupaśavi,[8] Kāndamāyana,[9] Kānva,[10] Kāṣyapa,[11] Kauṇḍinya,[12] Gārgya,[13] Gautama,[14] Jātukarṇya,[15] Dālbhya,[16] Naigī,[17] Pauṣkarasādi,[18] Plākṣāyaṇa,[19] Plāksi,[20] Bābhravya,[21] Bṛhaspati,[22] Bharadvāja,[23] Mākṣavya,[24] Māṇḍūkeya,[25] Mādhyandina,[26] Yāska,[26] Vālmīki,[28] Vedamitra,[29] Vyāḍi,[30] Śākaṭayana,[31] Śākalya,[32] Śaityāyana,[33] etc.

India is in fact an extraordinary and rich mine of linguistic researches waiting to be worked out. It is my belief that the Indian languages are the only system of languages in the world, which has a continuous and, more or less, clearly documented history extending over nearly four thousand years. This continuity of documents in the Prātiśākhyas, the Śiksās and different grammars of Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākrit is still available to us.

The work of Paṇini, which culminated in the creative period of linguistic science in India, is hailed as the crowning achievement in this field never equalled anywhere as yet. It is a matter of regret that linguistics hardly found an honourable mention in the foundation of universities, specially the Sanskrit Universities and the Vidyapithas of the Rastriya Sanskrit Sansthana.

The University of Bombay established the first endowment in this field in the last quarter of the nineteenth century with the foundation of the Wilson Philological Lectureship inaugurated by a series of seven lectures delivered by Dr. Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar in 1877. Thereafter, the University of Calcutta set up a chair for Comparative Philology and Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee was the first man who was appointed there as the Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics. This was the only University in the country which offered courses in Comparative Philology and offered the Master's degree and also the Doctorate degree in this subject until the early fifties of the twentieth century.

Credit must be given to the then Government of India for instituting a number of overseas scholarships which enabled brilliant young scholars to study languages and linguistics under the leading lights of England, Germany and France. To some extent England offered the necessary training and encouragement to that first generation of modern scholars interested in linguistic studies. But those scholars, when returned to India, had to be attached to the language departments since the word linguistics was still unfamiliar to those running universities. Comparative philology, as the term current for this subject at that time, was primarily oriented to the study of the language as reflected in literature and formed only a minor part of a single paper at the M.A. stage.

Recognizing the difficulties involved in this situation, scholars of Indian linguistics met in Lahore in 1928 and established the Linguistic Society of India and also decided to hold a biennial conference as a section of the All India Oriental Conference. The University of Panjab offered a home on temporary basis to the Linguistic Society and assisted in bringing out a number of issues of *Indian Linguistics*, the official organ of the Society. Nevertheless, the study of linguistics was a minor pursuit, restricted to a few doctoral aspirants working in different language departments. Those who wanted to specialize in higher researches in the subject had still to work abroad. The time did not seem to be suitable for linguistics to take a proper place in the university curriculum. In course of time the headquarter of the Linguistic Society of India was shifted in 1938 from Lahore to Calcutta where the University had a Department for Comparative Philology. Consequently the burden of running the Society chiefly fell on the staff of the Department of Comparative Philology.

While these events were shaping themselves, a significant happening took place in the state of Maharashtra. The Deccan College, established in Poona in 1921, was closed in 1934 by the then Government of Bombay. But in the year 1939 it was recognized as a foundation for research and post-graduate studies in linguistics and some other new subjects. The Deccan College reopened with only two departments: (1) Department of Linguistics and (2) Department of History cum Sociology. Almost from the beginning, the College attracted scholars from every nook and corner of the country. The work, accomplished within a short period of six years, at the College, marked a new era in the department of linguistic studies. During the war years from 1939 to 1945 most of the linguistic work, turned out through the Dept. of Linguistics, at Deccan College and in other universities was primarily in the field of historical and comparative philology, with a certain amount of emphasis on phonetics. But the vast mass of unrecorded linguistic wealth of India remained outside the general scope of research and, with a few honourable exceptions, did not draw the attention of Indian scholars.

It is indeed a matter for gratification, that recognizing the impact that the Deccan College had on these developments, the Government of India invited plans of development from the College and approved them in principle, giving initial financial assistance to one of them, namely, a Dictionary of Sanskrit on historical principles, delineating the history of each Sanskrit word, from the Ṛgveda to the eighteenth century A.D. It was in 1948, just after the country had won its independence, that this sanction was accorded by the Government of India, and the work, on the project, was initiated at Deccan College. In the same year the University of Poona was established with provision for a department of linguistics which had already been set up at the Deccan College.

With the adoption of the Constitution of India in 1950 and the setting up of the Republic of India, the recognition of the importance of linguistic studies gradually manifested itself in the larger awareness of linguistic problems facing the country. While adopting Hindi as the official language of India, the Constitution provided under Article 351 for the development of all the recognized languages and for gradual evolution of the official language, as the ultimate national language, by incorporating within itself the manifold richness exhibited by these languages in their structures, vocabularies, etc. Indeed one of the important tasks of the national government, in the wake of this linguistic aspect, was the redrawing of the map of the country by recognizing the states on the principle of single-language units.

In the year 1953 the University of Poona called a conference of educationists to discuss the question of the medium of instruction at the university level. Shortly thereafter another conference of linguistics and educationists was organized by the Deccan College to consider among other matters two urgent and important matters, namely, (1) to make linguistics a central subject in university curriculum and (2) to preserve, for scientific study, the fast disappearing linguistic wealth, in the shape of unrecorded speech forms and dialects through a new and thorough linguistic survey of the country. Among marginal problems discussed, were facilities for training modern linguists, since the formal courses offered at university level, did not provide for such intensive and problem-oriented training. The main theme was, of course, the role that scientific linguistics could play in the matter of establishing linguistic competence, and contributing towards the realization of the objectives, outlined in Article 351 of the Constitution. In the organization of this conference and the subsequent activities, which the Deccan College initiated to fulfil the major recommendations of the conference, substantial grants were provided by the Rockefeller Foundation of New York during the six years from 1954 to 1960 and thereafter by the University Grants Commission.

The decade, beginning with 1954, saw somewhat rapid development of linguistic studies in the country through establishment of university departments. Agra and Annamalai Universities were the first after Poona University to constitute such departments in the shape of the K.M. Munshi Institute of Hindi and Linguistics and the Silver Jubilee Department of Dravidian Linguistics respectively. Similar departments were also started in other universities like Saugar, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Mysore, Trivandrum and Baroda, etc. At present the following universities have active departments of linguistics: (1) Agra University, (2) Aligarh University, (3) Annamalai University, (4) Banaras Hindu University, (5) Maharaja Sayajirao University, Baroda, (6) Bombay University, (7) Burdwan University, (8) Calcutta University, (9) Delhi University, (10) Gauhati University, (11) Himachal Pradesh University, Simla, (12) Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, (13) K.S.D. Sanskrit University, Darbhanga, (14) Kerala University, (15) Kurukshetra University, (16) Lucknow University, (17) Madurai University, (18) Mysore University, (19) Nagpur University, (20) Osmania University, Hyderabad, (21) Poona University, (22) Punjabi University, Patiala, (23) Ravi Shankar University, Raipur, (24) Saugar University, etc.

It was significant that following a conference, jointly sponsored by the University of Poona and the Deccan College in 1958, the University Grants Commission supported a study by the Linguistic Society of India to consider the steps suitable to realize the objectives, reached by the Conference of the Vice-Chancellors, Educationists and Linguists. The U.G.C. undertook to give top priority to such development and initially sanctioned the creation of posts, each at the Universities of Agra, Annamalai, Calcutta and Poona. On the recommendations made by the Official Language Commission, the Govt. of India set up two Central institutes for the training of teachers to teach Hindi and English at Agra and Hyderabad respectively by using intensive methods, developed jointly by linguists and language teachers. A special division, in the Department of Education, Government of India, was created for devising scientific terminology in Indian languages, but with special reference to Hindi at the centre and by some state governments, for a similar activity, in the area of the regional languages. By establishing the summer and autumn intensive courses in linguistics, designed to supplement the normal teaching at the universities, the Deccan College, jointly with the Linguistic Society of India and various Indian universities trained more than two thousand scholars in the modern tools and techniques of linguistics. A great deal of new material from the four important families of languages spoken in India, was subjected to scientific analysis. Despite the expansion of linguistics departments in the universities, these schools (summer and autumn) attracted a large number of participants. In the second half of the sixties the Government of India set up a Central Institute of Indian Languages as recommended by the Official Languages Commission, under the University of Mysore. This All India Institute marks the culmination of a remarkable development, which is unparalleled elsewhere. The two centres of advanced study in linguistics, at Deccan College, Poona and Annamalai University, testify to the fact that linguistics has become a major subject of instruction and research.

While the universities will primarily be concerned with the theoretical aspects of linguistics, since it is one of the most fundamental branches, now developing sophisticated approaches in world universities, the Central Institute of Indian Languages will co-ordinate problem-oriented research. Once again a chance is given in India, for recovering its ancient mastery in a branch of learning which it gave to the world of scholarship, and for a creative resurgence, which alone can bring to fruition, the dream of the framers of our Constitution, and unite the country in a strong and unbreakable conglomerate, representing every phase and nerve of its constituent elements.

Among the *Vedangas* the *Śikṣā* is counted first as it deals with the science of language. All the *Śikṣās* and the *Prātiśākhyas* are the oriental sources of linguistic analysis and phonetic researches in the languages of the Indo-Aryan family. Structure and development of old, middle and modern Indo-Aryan languages are wholly based on these original sources. Each of the *Prātisākhyas* and the *Śiksās* is a hidden treasure and deserves its proper analysis from the linguistic point of view.

Scholars interested in the study of languages since the time immemorial, have divided India linguistically into two distinct parts: (1) Dravidian and (2) Aryan. The idea behind this division seems to be, to demarcate the differences in the speeches used in Aryan India and Dravidian India, the former being largely influenced by the Aryan speech, viz., Sanskrit and the latter by the Dravidian speech. Though it is very difficult to perceive and find out the subtle differences in the Indian languages, it may be asserted that the spoken basic words, used in these two areas, are not distinctly different from each other at all. For instance the pronouns, verbs, adverbs and even conjugations to a very large extent, are similar in the languages used in Dravidian India while a like similarity can be discovered among the languages used in Aryan India. The main languages spoken in Dravidian India are only four—Tamil, Telugu, Malyalam and Kannada. The division of the area, lying south of the Vindhyas, linguistically into four regions, seems to be very large due to its geography. The chain of the mountains, running from north to south, known as the Western Ghats, has again divided South India and separated Malayalam from Tamil and Kannada from Telugu. The influence of Kannada and Telugu, which are grouped under the Dravidian languages can be seen in Marathi, their next-door neighbour, to a very large extent, and also in Gujarati to some extent. It may also be noted that the Central India, which is the heart of our country, would not have been able to have one single language, with only varying dialectical differences, but for the fact that this area is free from mountainous obstructions and has free communication from one end to the other. Thus the geography of India is more responsible for the linguistic divisions in the country than any urge and instinct of the people, to keep themselves in separate language groups, different from each other.

Just as science has conquered distance in other spheres, it has removed the obstacles provided by nature in our country, and with the facility of free and quick communication, from place to place, and the urge on the part of people, to feel one, act one and speak each other's language, the languages of India today are coming nearer to each other.

Cultural and political activity in the country is increasing every day and the movement for integration, at various levels, is now going on with a great speed. The desire to have access to the literary treasures of other languages, though not in original but through translation, is also on the increase. This again helps the Indian languages to come closer and influence each other in vocabulary, idiom and usage. Social customs, concept of religion and the central stream of Indian life contribute in no small measure to mutual benefit, understanding and growth. When there is a common way of thinking, living and acting, there is every likelihood of the unconscious assimilation of words, by one another. Rich languages like English and Sanskrit provide ample evidences in this behalf. For the purpose of integration of the Indian languages we may consider three broad spheres. The first and the basic sphere is social contact; the second and the most important is the contact of cultures which will influence the emotional upsurge of each other and the third is politics and administration. India is marching forward, in the second and third spheres, with a great speed. If we take stock of the words absorbed in the Indian languages it may be asserted that nearly six per cent of the words are common, derived mostly from Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and English. The number of these words is growing. A cursory glance, at a polyglot dictionary will convince any casual reader that the pace of progress towards uniformity in vocabulary is very encouraging. In the course of one or two decades it might be possible for our administrators, poets and men of letters to travel round the whole country without being conscious of crossing any language frontier. While it is possible in the near future for these categories of people to become one, associated with the whole of India, it is difficult to predict the time required for the increased uniformity of vocabulary, in the sphere of social contact. It may, however, be asserted that owing to increased activity in education, the country will produce results which may give us opportunities to help our languages come closer and closer together in the near future. It would have been easier for the Indian languages to record a greater uniformity in the matter of vocabulary and idiom, if we had the good fortune of having a common alphabet. Ninety per cent of literate Indians, even today, use more or less the same phonetic system for their alphabets. The characters alone are different. It does not seem to be possible to remove this difference. Yet it is quite easy to spread an additional common alphabetical system throughout India.

References

1. Taittirīya Prātiśākhya 9, 4.
2. *ibid.*, 3, 22.
3. Ṛkpratiśākhya 1, 2.
4. Taittirīya Prātiśākhya 5, 31; 17, 8; Maitrāyaṇīya Prātiśākhya 2, 5; 5, 33; 6, 8.
5. Ṛktantra 1, 4.
6. Taittirīya Prātiśākhya 8, 22; 10, 20; 16, 23.
7. Ṛktantra 2, 6 and 10, Bhāṣikasūtra 2, 20 and 22.
8. Vājasanayī Prātiśākhya 3, 131.
9. Mait. Prāti. 9, 1.
10. Vāj. Prāti. 1, 123 and 149.
11. Vāj. Prāti. 4, 5; 8, 50.
12. Mait. Prāti. 5, 43; Taitt. Prāti 18, 3; 19, 2.
13. Ṛkprati 1, 15; 6, 36; 11, 17 and 26.
14. Taitt. Prāti 5, 38.
15. Vāj. Prāti 4, 125; 5, 22.
16. *ibid.*, 4, 16.
17. Rktantra 2, 6 and 9.
18. Taitt. Prāti 5, 37; 13, 16; 14, 2; 17, 6.
19. Mait. Prāti 9, 6.
20. Taitt. Prāti. 5, 38; 9, 6; 14, 10.
21. Ṛkprāti 11, 65.
22. Ṛktantra 1, 4.
23. Bhāṣikasūtra 2, 19; 3, 9.
24. Ṛkprāti (Vargadvaya Vṛtti) 1, 2.
25. *ibid.*, 1, 2; 3, 14.
26. Vāj. Prāti 8, 35.
27. Ṛkprāti 17, 42.
28. Mait. Prāti. 2, 30; 5, 38; 9, 4.
29. Ṛkprāti 1, 51.
30. *ibid.*, 3, 23; 6, 43; 13, 31.
31. *ibid.*, 1, 16; 13, 39.
32. Vāj. Prāti. 3, 10.
33. Taitt. Prāti. 5, 40; 17, 1; 18, 2.

22

ARCHIVES IN ANCIENT INDIA

S.V. Sohoni

It is quite evident from several accounts that there was a well-understood and properly maintained system of state and regional archives in ancient India. There is definite evidence about this administrative arrangement as laid down in Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, consisting of (1) an account stated by Hiun Tsang in the seventh century A.D. and (2) supported by details gathered from copper-plate grants. The conclusion drawn from such evidence is that there was a department of state archives, that according to the prescribed procedure reports were regularly deposited into it by a number of administrative functionaries at regular intervals, and that penalties were imposed on them both for any failure to comply with this requirement and in respect of such errors or frauds as would be found on subsequent verification. It is also apparent that what amounted to certified copies could be had from this department of public administration, which used to be put under a very experienced and senior officer of the government on aceount of its importance.

First, as to evidence from Kautilya, in Book 2 Chapter VII of Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* entitled, '*Akṣapaṭale gāṇanikyādhikārah*', Kautilya enjoined as follows:

> "*Akṣapaṭalamadhyakṣah prāngmukhamudangmukham vā vibhaktopasthānam nibandhapustakasthānam kārayet | 1 |*
> "*Tatrādhikaraṇānām sankhyāpracāra-sanjātāgram, karmāntānām dravyaprayogavṛddhikṣaya-srjayaprayāmaoyājiyogasthāna-vetanaviṣṭipramāṇam, ratnasāraphalgukupyā nāmarghaprativarnakamāna pratimānonmānāvamānabhāndam, deśagrāmajākulasanghānām dharmoyavahāracaritrasansthānam, rājopajīvinām pragrahapradeśabhogaparihārabhaktavetanalabham, rādjnyasca patnīputrānām ratnabhūmilābham nirdeśoutpātikapratikāralabham, mitramitrānām ca sandhivigrahapradānādānam nibandhapustakastham karayet | 2 |*
> "*Tatah sarvādhikaraṇānam karaṇīyam siddham śeṣamāyavyayou nīvīmupasthānam pracāram caritram sansthānam ca nibandhena prayachhet | 3 |*

Dr. Kangle has translated these paragraphs as follows:

> "1. The Superintendent should cause the Records Office to be built facing the east or the north, with separate halls (as) a place for record books.
> "2. There he should cause to be entered in the record-books: the extent of the number, activity and total (income) of the departments; the amount of increase or decrease in the use of the (various) materials, expenses, excess surcharge, mixing, place, wages, and labourers in connection with factories; the price. the quality, the weight, the measure, the height, the depth and the container in connection with jewels, articles of high value, of low value and forest produce; laws, transactions, customs and fixed rules of regions, villages, castes, families and corporations; the receipt of favours, lands, use, exemptions and food and wages by those who serve the king; the receipt of jewels and

> land (and) the receipt of special allowances and (payments for) remedial measures against sudden calamities, by the king and his queens and sons; and payments and receipts in connection with peace and war with allies and enemies.
>
> "3. From that he should hand over in writing the (revenue) estimate, accrued revenue, outstanding revenue, income and expenditure, balance (the time for) attendance (for audit), (sphere of) activity, customs and fixed rules, to all the departments."

It follows from this quotation that the scope for the receipt of the records and the reports into the state archives was extremely comprehensive; that these documents had to be submitted at prescribed intervals; and that their contents were carefully checked. They dealt with the state budget, civil and military accounts, reports on revenue matters as well as on industrial and agrarian conditions.

The existence of such a system for receipt, classification and maintenance of documents relating to public and private property and activities of public administration, was doubtless, a very distinguishing and impressive feature of Indian administration in ancient times. Many a Greek visitor referred to the developed character of Indian administration, as being within his personal knowledge, e.g., Megasthenes during Kautilya's own lifetime. But several centuries later, the great Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang was witness to the *continued* existence of such an advanced administrative arrangement.

This would be proved by the following extracts drawn from his *Travels in India* (629-645 A.D.) and his *Life*. Watter's translation from the *Travels* is as follows:

> As to their archives and records there are separate custodians of these. The official annals and state-papers are called collectively *ni-lo-pi-tu* (or *cha*); in these good and bad are recorded and instances of public calamity and good fortune are set forth in detail.

Watters has commented:

> The Nilo-lo-pi-tu of this passage has been rightly restored by Julien as Nilapiṭa and the Chinese annotator tells us the word means 'Dark-blue store'. We find the word Nilapiṭa in our Sanskrit dictionaries, but the P.W. gives only one illustration of its use, and that is the passage before us.

Samuel Beal has translated from the *Life*:

> With respect to the records of events, each province has its own official for preserving them in writing. The record of these events in their full character is called Ni-lo-pi-cha (Nilapita, blue deposit). In these records are mentioned good and evil events, with calamities and fortunate occurrences (p. 78, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* by Samuel Beal, London).

It is noteworthy that the Chinese pilgrim, whose main interest was in collecting information about the religion of the Enlightened One, reported in such detail on the work of this important department of government, all of whose work was secular in nature.

As recent an author like Dr. D. Devahuti, dealing with these very passages in the accounts relating to Hiuen Tsang, has merely repeated Julien's view that '*ni-lo-pi-tu/cha* stood for '*nila-pita*' or a blue chest.

> Ni-lo-pi-tu, Nila-pita or Blue Chest. It is not unusual to find that certain colours become associated with certain functions. Peṭa and piṭaka are synonyms for piṭa. The three divisions of Buddhist literature, perhaps from being stored originally in three containers, came to be known as *tripiṭika*. This and the present reference indicate that it was traditional practice to preserve religious and secular documents (*Harsha*, p. 170, f.n.1).

What the Chinese "Nilo-pi-Tu/cha" was, has remained a puzzle all along. It is now quite clear from what has been stated above that this Chinese reference to '*ni-lo-pi-tu/cha*' stands for Kautilya's *nibandha pustaka/sthāna*'. The Chinese pilgrims sometimes translated Sanskrit components in Indian 'names into Chinese or occasionally, tried to reproduce the Indian sounds as a Chinese would have pronounced them. Sometimes, both methods were used. In the instant case, it was sought to reproduce the sounds.

Hiuen Tsang testified to a state of affairs in post-Gupta India. That the system had prevailed in the intermediate period as well, during the administrative system of the imperial Guptas seems to be equally clear. The functionaries in charge of records were called '*akṣapaṭalikas*', known after the record room system of noting down the individual location of bundles of deposited documents or charts or *paṭalas* maintained for that purpose, arranged village-wise, subdivision-wise, district-wise as well as subject-wise. Hence the term, *akṣapaṭala*. The bound records were in charge of *pusta-pālas* or record keepers. The word, '*pusta*' has been found to be of Iranian origin, meaning, skin. The word *pustaka*, based thereon, is used by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* as also by Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra*. Accordingly, it seems to have travelled into India, even before the Guptas displaced the preceding foreign rule. Its use is more frequently seen during the post-Gupta age. Its first available occurrence in an inscription (vide I. A. VII, p. 67 ff), known so far is in a Maitraka record from Surāṣtra, where it was used with reference to making a provision of funds for purchasing religious books, although for that type of books, '*grantha*' was the word used since ancient times, on account of using *bhūrjapatra* and palm leaves as writing material.

In this background, a fresh look at the Nalanda and Gaya copper-plate grants of Samudragupta would be fully justified. In my earlier analysis of these two documents (vide *J.B.R.S.* Vol. LII, pp. 20-28), I had submitted that there was ample reason to hold that they were really certified copies of genuine earlier charters, prepared at the command of Gopaswāmi, who had held important public offices in his earlier career and was then appointed as *Mahākṣapaṭalika*. This Gopaswāmi, accordingly, stands out as an important witness of a system of public archives in ancient India. Yet another example of a certified copy of an earlier document can be found in Bhāskaravarmā's Nidhānapur copper-plate grant. This showed that Kāmarūpa had adopted not only the Gupta era but also the Gupta system of public administration based on Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. In this grant it was expressly stated that because the original had been damaged by fire, a copy was being issued; and that merely because the letters in the copy were bigger, its genuineness should not be doubted.

As provided for in the Smṛiti codes, there was recogized scope for granting certified copies in the event of the original record being either damaged or lost. As observed there, it was sufficient guarantee of genuineness, if the certified document carried the *rāja mudrā*.

Considerable responsibility was devolved on the scribes of the original documents, since every record could not be inscribed on stone or engraved on metal. The following *sphuta slokas*, whose vintage is palpably ancient, indicate that scribes were definitely conscious of how important was their work:

(a) *Karakṛtamaparādham kṣantumarhanti santah/*
(b) *Yādṛśam pustakam dṛstva tadṛśam likhitam mayā/*
yadi śuddhamaśuddham vā mama doṣo na vidyate//
(c) *Bhagnaprṣthakatigrīvah stabdhadṛṣtiradhomukhah/*
kaṣtena likhitam grantham yatnena paripālayet//
(d) *Taitadrakṣet jatādrakset rakset śithilabandhanāt/*
Mūrkhahaste na dātavyamevam vadati pustakam//

Curiously enough, it would appear that *itihāsa nibandha* literature was, apparently, being stocked even in remote hermitages or *āśramas*. Thus, in Kaṇvamuni's *āśrama*, such compositions were available, according to what Anasūya observed vide *Abhidjnyānaśakuntalam*, Act III:

Halā Sakuntale ! *Anabhyantare khalvāmām madanagatasya vṛttāntasya/*
kintu yādṛśi itihāsanibandheṣu kāmayamānānamavasthā śrūyate tadṛsīm paśyami

In this passage there are three words which carry technical implication of historigraphy, viz., *vṛttanta*, and *nibandha*. Anusūyā wanted to state that neither she nor Priyamvadā had the least personal knowledge of a *vṛttānta* account dealing with the development of Cupid's activity. Amara has observed, '*pāramparyopadeśesyād aitihyam iti ha avyayam* (II.7.12)'. Hemacandra has stated, '*vārtā aitihyam purātani*' (II.173). He has also given three synonyms of '*vārtā*, viz., '*pravrttih*', '*vṛttantah*' and '*udantah*' (II. 174). He defines *vārtā* as "*vṛttih lokavṛttam asti asyām iti vārtā*"; '*pravṛtti*', as "*pravartate jano anayā*"; '*vrttānta*', as "*vrttasya ācaritasya anto atra vrttāntah*"; as regards "*udanta*', he has noted, "*udyate udantah*". Kālidāsa has used all these words implying a written report. It can be seen how positive was Anusūyā's observation, "*anabhyantare khalu āvām madanagatasya vṛttāntasya*". Both Priyamvadā and she herself were as far away from that kind of literature as could be imagined. One may note the compound, '*madanagatasya*'—it was reading which disturbed ! But the position was different with literature classified as '*itihāsa nibandha*', which was, obviously, perused by both of them. Probably, a reference was intended to such compositions as stood inserted in *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* as *pāramparyopadeśa*', based on historical narratives. Their reading was permissible in *āsramas*.

It would thus appear that public administration in ancient India not only had authentic historical information on a variety of important subjects but also a recognized procedure for acquiring it as well as a properly organized machinery for preservation of records. This would directly contradict the belief that ancient Indians had neither a history nor historical sense.

23

THE ARCHITECTURAL AND ARTISTIC HERITAGE OF INDIA

Arabinda Ghosh

India is a country rich in her architectural and artistic heritage. These partake of the form of both standing buildings of great artistic merit and derelict earth-fast monuments which, in more cases than not, have to be dug out from beneath the earth, as well as portable pieces of sculpture and other works of art.

The history of Indian art and architecture begins with the Indus Valley (also called the Harappān) Civilization, which flourished between 2500 and 1500 B.C. on the lower reaches of the Indus and its tributaries as well as in the adjacent territories of north-western Rajasthan (Ghaggar-Chautang valley) and in Gujarat and Kathiawad. The cities of Mohenjo-daro and Harappā as well as Kalibaṅgān (Ganganagar district, Rajasthan) and Lothāl (Surendranagar district, Gujarat), built by these Indus Valley people, exhibit a sort of deliberate city-planning and municipal administration which, in more respects than one, may serve as models for later times. The architecture of the Indus Civilization shows a plain utilitarian brick-built building-art, mainly represented by fortifications, residential houses, broad paved streets lined with brick-built sewage drains, and public buildings like granaries, dockyards and warehouses (at the port-town of Lothāl), and the Great Bath (at Mohenjo-daro). The Indus people were also adept in the art of sculpture, both in stone and bronze, and in those of bead-making and seal-cutting. The Indus Valley seals showing, in intaglio, animal and human figures and inscriptions in a hitherto undeciphered script, are masterpieces of glyptic art.

After the downfall of the Harappan Civilization in about 1500 B.C. India appears to have lapsed into a village economy. The cultures that flourished between 1500 B.C. and the rise of the Mauryas *c.* 320 B.C. built only wattle-and-daub or mud-and-thatch houses, and we have no significant architectural and sculptural remains except the outer fortification walls of ancient Rājagṛha (modern Rajgir, Patna district, Bihar), the capital of the Magadhān state up to *c.* 400 B.C. These fortification walls of Rajgir, having bastions at intervals, extend about forty-five kilometres along the crest of the surrounding hills, and are built of massive pieces of undressed stone, one to two metres in length, carefully fitted and bonded together; no mortar or cement or clamps of any kind have been used in the stonework. These 'cyclopean' walls, though devoid of any aesthetic merit, are one of the architectural wonders of India, and may be dated to *c.* 600 B.C., if not earlier.

With the rise of the Mauryas, monumental architecture and sculpture began to appear in India. Aśoka (273-232 B.C.), the third Mauryan emperor, appears to be the first monarch to introduce stone for building and sculptural purposes. He is credited with the authorship of three types of monuments, *viz.*, pillars, *stupas* and rock-cut caves. He set up at least thirty pillars, including ten inscribed ones, on sites having Buddhist associations. These are found in Muzaffarpur and Champaran districts of Bihar, in Nepal Terai, at Sarnath near Varanasi and Kauśambi near Allahabad, in the Meerut and Ambala districts (these two are now re-erected at Delhi), at Sanchi in Madhya Pradesh and at Amarāvati in Andhra Pradesh. These highly polished pillars, with their tapering monolithic shafts and finely carved capitals surmounted by majestic animal sculptures, are masterpieces of monumental art, full of symbolical meaning and distinguished by dignity, balance and repose. Of these, the pillar at Lauriya-Nandangarh (Champaran district, Bihar) may be cited as a type specimen, as it is the best preserved of all. The shaft of the pillar, about ten metres high above ground level, is chiselled out of a single block of chunar sandstone, and the capital crowned by a single-lion emblem, about two metres in height, of another block, the capital being kept on top of the shaft by means of metallic dowel. Both the capital and the shaft bear the highly lustrous 'Mauryan' polish which is the hallmark of Mauryan sculpture. The shaft of the pillar bears the inscriptions of Aśoka. Another Aśokan capital, the quadripartite Lion-capital from Sarnath (now in the Sarnath Museum), has been chosen as the emblem of the Republic of India, and its effigy can be seen on every coin and postal stamp issued by the Government of India.

Aśoka also built a pillared-hall at Pāṭaliputra, the capital of his empire, the remains of which have been dug out at Kumrahar near Patna. The pillars of this hall bore the typical Mauryan polish.

The *stupa* was originally a piled-up burial-mound, more or less domical in shape, and built of earth and rubble. But in course of time it became the most characteristic monument of the Buddhist faith. Symbolizing, as it did, the decease of the Buddha, the *stupa* came to be looked upon by the Buddhists as an object of cult-worship, by the time of Aśoka. Building a *stupa* was, therefore, deemed to be a meritorious act by the followers of that religion. Tradition credits Aśoka as having erected 84,000 *stupas* over the body-relics of the Buddha all over India, but most of them lie buried beneath later constructions.

As an architectural work the *stupa* is a solid structural dome (*anda*), usually raised on a cylindrical or square base. The dome was surmounted by a railed pavilion (*harmika*) from which rose the shaft (*yashthi*) of the crowning umbrellas (*chhatravali*). Most *stupas* had one or more circumambulatory passages (*pradakshina-patha*) which were usually enclosed by railing (*vedika*) pierced by ornamental gateways (*toranas*) at the cardinal points. The earlier *stupas* were hemispherical in shape with a low base, but the later ones assumed increasingly cylindrical form with a well-developed drum.

The original *stupa* at Sanchi which is now concealed beneath the present Great *Stupa* (Sanchi *Stupa* No. 1) and forms its core, appears to have been made by Aśoka. It was a low hemispherical dome, of almost half the diameter of the present *stupa*, made of large bricks set in mud-mortar, and was surmounted by a stone umbrella bearing characteristic Mauryan polish. Aśoka also erected a stone pillar at the southern gate of the *stupa*. The quadripartite Lion-capital of this pillar is now in the Sanchi Museum.

About a century later, during the Śuṅga period (187-50 B.C.), the original brick-*stupa* of Aśoka was enveloped in a stone casing of ashlar masonry and thus assumed its present shape and dimensions. At the same time a lofty circular terrace (*medhi*), with a double flight of steps at the southern side, the three railings (ground, stairway and berm), the paved processional paths, the crowning *hārmika*-balustrade and the triple umbrella, were erected. The stone-work of both the dome and the terrace was also given a thick coating of concrete, extensive patches of which are still found on the dome. During the second half of the first century B.C. the four gateways (*toranas*) were erected. Each of these gateways was lavishly carved on both faces showing *Jātaka*-stories, scenes from the Buddha's life, figures of tree-nymphs (*sālabhañjikās*) and other miscellaneous subjects and art-motifs. These gateway reliefs constitute some of the finest specimens of sculptural art in India.

Between the third century B.C. and fourth century A.D. numerous *stupas* were built along the Krishna river in Andhradeśa. Of these, the Great *Stupa* at Amarāvatī and those at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā (both in the Guntur district) are justly famous. These *stupas* consisted of brick-built hemispherical domes raised on low bases, and were characterized by rectangular projections (*ayakas*) at the base of the domes at the four cardinal points; these projections supported a row of five ornamental pillars (*ayaka-thambhas*).

The *stupa* at Amarāvatī is the largest in Andhradeśa. Its extant remains consist of the drum of the brick-built *stupa*, the paved circumambulatory path and the circular alignment of fragmentary pillars of the railing; the domical superstructure of the *stupa* is now missing. The original *stupa* at Amarāvatī was built by Aśoka and was encircled by a granite railing. Aśoka also erected a highly polished quartzite pillar near this *stupa*, a fragment of which bearing inscriptions of the monarch has been discovered. During the rule of the Satavāhanas and the Ikshvākus (middle of the second to the end of the fourth centuries A.D.) the *stupa* was enlarged to double its original size and was embellished with a casing of sculptured slabs depicting *stupas* and other objects. During this period the granite railing was also replaced by a highly ornate one of limestone carved with beautiful designs and other relief-work.

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the ancient Vijayapuri, was the capital of the Ikshvākus, who reigned in Andhradeśa from the middle of the third to the last quarter of the fourth centuries A.D. These kings beautified their capital by building a large number of *stupas*, monasteries and other Brāhmanical temples. Besides these religious edifices, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is also noted for two very peculiar constructions. One of these is an Amphitheatre with tiered galleries on all four sides, providing seating room for about one thousand spectators. It is a unique piece of architecture in India and appears to be inspired by Roman tradition. Yet, unlike the Roman prototype its arena is rectangular instead of being oval. The fact that any sound produced in the arena could be heard from all other places in the amphitheatre indicate that it was meant more for musical and theatrical purposes than for gladiatorial ones. The other unique specimen of architecture at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is the Bathing Ghat on the Krishna. Built entirely of Cuduppah stone slabs this gigantic ghat appears to be more religious than secular in character.

The sculpture of Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, of which specimens are housed in the site museums of those places, constitute the Andhra school of sculpture. The slim, elegant figures of men and women of this school are modelled in charming suppleness and shown in graceful movements.

In the north Indian plain *stupas* were built principally of brick and continued to be made till the twelfth century A.D. They occur at Buddhist sites like Sārnath (near Varanasi, U.P.), Srāvasti (Sahet-Mahet, U.P.), and Kusinagara (Kasia, Gorakhpur district, U.P.). Most of these *stupas* date from the Gupta period (fifth-sixth centuries A.D.) and later times, and are cylindrical in shape with a high base consisting of more terraces than one. This type of *stupa* is best exemplified by the Dhamekh *Stupa* at Sarnath of the Gupta period. It is a massive towering structure, about forty-five metres high, its cylindrical brick-built drum resting on a high circular terrace of stone slabs; its domical portion is quite insignificant. The monument was adorned with delicately carved arabesque and geometrical designs of which traces remain.

Rock-cut architecture is scooped or hewn out of living rock. They are of two types: (1) rock-cut caves and (2) monolithic rock-hewn temples. The earliest rock-cut caves in India were got prepared by Aśoka and his grandson, Dasaratha, on the Barabar and Nagarjuni hills in the Gaya district, Bihar. The most remarkable of these are the Sudama and Lomash Rishi caves. They are lithic copies of structures in wood, and consisted of a rectangular antechamber with a barrel-vaulted roof leading to a circular cell having a hemispherical domed roof with an overhanging eave representing thatch. The Lomash Rishi cave is notable for its ornamental entrance-porch, carved to represent the gabled entrance of a wooden building with sloping posts, jointed beams and rafters and an ogee-arch crowned by a finial. On this facade is carved a frieze depicting elephants worshipping *stupas*.

The rock-cut architecture, initiated by Aśoka in the third century B.C., flourished up to the tenth century A.D. as a powerful mode of architectural expression of the people. The trap-rock formations of the Western Ghats, which were particularly suitable for excavation of this kind, were studded with numerous rock-cut caves and temples. The important centres of rock-cut architecture in India are Bhaja, Bedsa, Junnar and Karle in Poona district; Kanheri and Elephanta near Bombay; Nasik in Nasik district, Pitalkhora, Ajanta and Ellora in Aurangabad district; and Mahabalipuram in Chingleput district.

The Buddhist rock-cut caves fall into two groups, *viz.*, *chaitya*-halls and monasteries. The *chaitya*-hall consisted of a congregational-hall with a vaulted roof and an apsidiole (semicircular) containing a *stupa* or an image of the Buddha. The hall is divided longitudinally by two rows of pillars into a central nave and two side-aisles. The facade of the *chaitya*-hall, the most attractive part of the whole construction, consists of doorways below and a prominent arch-window above, through which light is admitted into the hall. The facade is usually ornamented with sculptural decorations.

The rock-cut monasteries of the earlier phase comprised of a hall surrounded on three sides by cells for the use of the monks and is generally approached through a pillared verandah in the front, while those of the later phase combined shrines along with chambers.

The earliest *chaitya*-hall, that at Bhaja, dates from *c.* 200 B.C., while the largest and most developed one, that at Karle, belonged to *c.* 100 A.D. The rock-cut caves of Ajanta, consisting both of monasteries and *chaitya*-halls, range in date from the second century B.C. to the seventh century A.D. The caves of Ajanta are world-famous for their mural paintings which are masterpieces of the painter's art.

The Elephanta cave, excavated about 750 A.D., is distinguished by the exceptional quality of its sculptures, carved in recessed panels. Of these, the best-known is the awe-inspiring three-headed Śiva (*Maheśa-mūrti*). The scene depicting Śiva's marriage with Uma (*Kalyanasundara-mūrti*) is another famous sculptural composition of the Elephanta cave.

The Kailāśa Temple, excavated in the second half of the eighth century A.D., under the patronage of the Rashtrakuta kings, is the most famous rock-cut temple at Ellora. It is in reality a replica, hewn out of living rock, of a structural temple. This temple marked the culmination of Indian rock-cut architecture which was nothing but sculpture on a grand scale.

The rock-cut architecture of the Tamil land fall into two the groups, *viz.*, *rathas* (monolithic temples) and *maṇḍapas* (caves). Monuments of both these groups, along with same others, have been made under the patronage of the Pallava kings (seventh century A.D.) at Mahābalipuram, situated in the Bay of Bengal, about fifty-five kilometres south of Madras. The five *Rathas*, named after the heroes of the Mahābharata and their wife, have been hewn out of living rock as free-standing monolithic temples. The Dharmarāja-, Arjuna-, and Nakula-Sahadeva-*rathas* are squared in plan and have pyramidal roofs in diminishing storeys, surmounted by a hemispherical dome at the top. The Bhima-*ratha* is a rectangular building and has a barrel-vaulted roof, and the Draupadi-*ratha*, the most elegant amongst the group, simulates a country-cottage with a thatched roof.

The *maṇḍapas* are excavated caves which served as shrines and are noted for their sculptured panels. The Mahishāsūramardinī-*maṇḍapa* is celebrated for its two large panels, one depicting Viṣṇu sleeping on his serpent-couch and the other, the goddess Durgā, riding on her lion and attended by her male and female hosts, fighting the Buffalo-demon by shooting arrows from the bow. This is one of the most remarkable representations of Mahishāsūramardinī in a group.

The rock-cut sculptured scene, known as Arjuna's Penance, is a magnificent carving unique in Indian art. Two large boulders, with a narrow fissure in between, have been chosen to represent rows of gods and goddesses and other celestial beings rushing forward to witness the sage (Arjuna) standing near the central cleft deeply engaged in meditation. To his right is the majestic figure of Śiva attended by *gaṇas*. Besides the gods and goddesses, there are hunters, sages, wild animals like lions, tigers, elephants, boars and monkeys, etc. This sculptured scene, along with the Mahishāsūramardinī panel already referred to, are masterpieces of Indian art, being epical in depth and vastness of conception and execution.

Though a few structural temples dating from the Maurya period have been discovered, the art of building structural temples, either in brick or in stone, began in the Gupta period (fourth-fifth centuries A.D.). The characteristic elements of a typical Gupta temple are a square sanctum (*garbhagṛha*) and square or rectangular pillared porch (*maṇḍapa*). The earlier examples (*c.* fifth century A.D.), represented by Temple 17 at Sanchi and the Viṣṇu Temple at Tigawa (Jabalpur district, M.P.) are distinguished by flat roofs, while the later ones developed a spire or *śikhara*, which became the most characteristic of the north Indian temple style. The brick-built Bhitargaon Temple (Kanpur district, U.P.) and the Dasavatara Temple at Deogarh (Jhansi district, U.P.), both of sixth century A.D., are the best specimens of this latter group. The *śikharas* of both these temples are stepped-pyramidal, formed of a number of receding tiers, and both are embellished with fine figure-sculptures and other decorative motifs; the walls of the temples of the earlier group, referred to above, were plain.

The Chalukyan style of temple architecture, which flourished between the sixth and the middle of the eighth centuries A.D., under the Chalukya kings of Bādāmi, can be studied best in the temples of Badami, Aihole and Pattadakal, all in the Bijapur district, Karnataka. The earliest temple of this group, *viz.*, the Lad Khan at Aihole, shows typically Gupta form, while the later ones, *e.g.*, the Melegitti Śivālaya at Bādāmi and the Virupaksha Temple at Pattadakal, whose towers consist of diminishing tiers of shrines crowned by an octagonal dome, may be considered as prototypes of typical South Indian temples of later periods. The temples of Kañcipuram (Conjeevaram, Tamil Nadu), built under the Pallavas (600-900 A.D.) and the Brihadisvara Temple at Tanjore, built by Rajarāja Cola about A.D. 1000, constitute the best examples of temple architecture in South India.

From the seventh to about the thirteenth centuries A.D. a large number of temples were built in northern India. Of these, the temples of Bhuvaneśvara and the Sun Temple at Konārak in Orissa, and the temples of Khajuraho in central India mark the culmination of temple architecture in India and are justly famous as great works of art. These temples consist of a number of compartments of which the sanctum proper (*garbhagṛha*) is marked by a tall curvilinear spire (*śikhara*), called the *rekha deul*; and the subsidiary ones, called variously *maṇḍapas* or *jagamohana*, *natamandira*, *bhoga-maṇḍapa*, etc., are roofed by horizontal platforms in receding tiers, called *piḍhas*. It will thus be seen that the several compartments of a typical north Indian temple have their individual roofs which fall into two orders, viz., the *rekha* and the *piḍha*, and it should be noted that they rise in a modulated crescendo, from the lowest over the entrance-porch to the loftiest over the sanctum. It should also be noted that the several compartments of a Khajuraho temple are more compact than those of a typical Orissan one. At Khajuraho the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, *maṇḍapa* and *mahā-maṇḍapa* lose their identity into the integrated whole of the entire temple-complex, while in Orissa the *jagamohana*, *nata-mandira* and *bhoga-maṇḍapa* appear to be separate structure placed one before the other along the longer axis of the temple complex.

The walls of the Indian temples are Veritable sculptural galleries, and provide us with material for a study of the development of the sculptural art in India through the ages. Some of these sculptures, *e.g.*, figures of the musicians on top of the Konārak temple and the Surasundaris on the Visvanatha Temple at Khajuraho are really great works of art, suffused with a lyrical loveliness and rapturous charm that lift the spectator to ecstatic joy.

Indo-Islamic architecture begins with the establishment of the Sultanate at Delhi by Qutbuddin Aibak. It is marked by a number of characteristics of form and construction which are not found in the preceding architecture of the Hindu period. Thus, while the Hindu architecture is a trabeated building constructed on the principle of post and lintel, the Indo-Islamic architecture is an arcuated one constructed on the principle of the arch and the dome. Again, the spire (*śikhara*) of the Hindu temple is constructed by corbelling, while the Islamic dome is erected on squinches.

The mosques, minars, forts, palaces and mausoleums of Delhi, Agra and Fatehpur-Sikri provide us with the most important examples of Indo-Islamic art. The Quwwatul-Islam Mosque, the Qutab Minar, and the Alai Darwaza are amongst the earlier specimens of this architecture. Humayun's Tomb at Delhi, the palaces and mosques in the forts of Agra and Fatehpur-Sikri, Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandra, the Buland Darwaza at Fatehpur-Sikri are some of the most remarkable specimens of developed Indo-Islamic architecture. The Tājmahal at Agra, built by Shahjahan over the grave of his beloved wife Mumtaz, is known all over the world for the chastity of its dome and its ethereal beauty on a moon-lit night. Of other buildings, the Gol Gumbaz of Bijapur, and the Tomb of Sher Shah at Sasaram deserve mention.

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DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD IN ANCIENT BENGAL

D.K. Chakravarty

Introduction

Evidence of human habitation in the Early Stone Age in West Bengal is attested by the occurrence of quite a large number of stone artifacts of Lower Palaeolithic typology derived mainly from the detrital laterite beds and from the implementiferous gravel beds of such rivers like the Gandheswari, the Kangsavati, the Subarnarekha and their tributaries, the formation of which can be ascribed to the Pleistocene epoch pertaining to the major geological division of the Quaternary Period. Although we are yet to find out any fossilized remains of hominids in West Bengal as with the rest of India, however, those specimens of human handiwork representing the stone tools styled as *hand-axes* or *cleavers* and *choppers* or *chopper-chopping* tools bear evidence of the presence of a none too large family of Prehistoric Man in West Bengal, the method of disposal of whose mortal remains is quite unknown to us as yet. With the change of climate and with that a change of economy, the tool-making tradition of the Early Stone Age evolved into a new industry producing a variety of minute type of 'pygmy' stone tools styled as 'microliths' now generally relegated to the Late Stone Age visualizing a hunting, fishing and an incipient agricultural economy. The earliest products of this industry as located amongst others in such a type site at Birbhanpur in the Damodar Valley, West Bengal and systematically classified and analysed after a small sounding reveal an array of tool types mostly non-geometric in character and ascribable to a Sub-Recent Phase in terms of geological reckoning. The microlithic culture which flourished in the sand-dunes of northern Gujarat and specially at Langhnaj as revealed by excavations most probably belongs to the same Phase. This site has yielded a sum total of thirteen human skeletal remains which give us some idea of the earliest mode of burial so far brought to light in India.

According to Dr. Karve (Ehrhardt & Kennedy, 1965), the Langhnaj skeletons reveal and speak about "the westernmost thrust of the eastern primitives." These are quite significant to us as it can be postulated that the same burial custom was probably adopted by those peoples who practised the same type of economy in hither West Bengal in the Mesolithie Phase. In proto-historic times we get multiple evidences about disposal of the dead in this subcontinent covering a vast time and space.

Some are of the opinion that skeletal remains found from Langhnaj may perhaps indicate the ethnic group responsible for the homogeneous microlithic culture which flourished almost throughout the length and breadth of this country in the Late Stone Age and with which the numerous microlithic sites located specially in the western part of West Bengal offer comparable lithic data.

We have yet to find out a clearly defined horizon where self-sufficing food producing economy started in West Bengal, but the recovery of so many types and varieties of tools, typologically associated with a typical neolithic assemblage from different parts of West Bengal reveal that this region also fostered the growth of a neolithic economy obviously based on agriculture and hunting. However, it can be realized from the findings of so many charred grains like rice, husk-impressed pottery, etc., from the chalcolithic levels at Pāṇḍu Rājār Dhibi and Mahisdal on the Kopai in Birbhum district that cultivation of rice and the introduction of agriculture were first initiated in the Ajoy-Kopai-Damodar Valley, which perhaps had an incipient beginning in the previous microlithic stage, ultimately blossoming forth in the urban civilization of the Ajoy Valley with its full efflorescence and epicentre at Pāṇḍu Rājār Dhibi.

Methods of Disposal of the Dead in Proto-Historic Bengal

Leaving aside the other cultural components of this highly sophisticated culture we shall concentrate our discussions on the skeletal remains as well as the burial customs as envisaged during the excavations conducted at Pāṇḍu Rājār Dhibi, district Burdwan during the years 1963 and 1965 under the auspices of the Directorate of Archaeology, West Bengal.

In the year 1963, when a large-scale excavation of Pāṇḍu Rājār Dhibi was undertaken an incomplete or fractional burial was noticed on the surface of the mottled sandy silt belonging to Period I of Pāṇḍu Rājār Dhibi. Here the parts of the skeleton were missing and the bone relics left possibly after exposure were placed directly on the earth at the bottom of the grave-pit, which were probably *rearranged in the form of a human skeleton* keeping the residual portions only with east-west orientation. The grave goods are scanty, sherds of coarse and plain handmade grey or red ware bearing paddy husk impression along with a fragment of a wheel-turned pale red vase with beaded and bevelled rim and globular body were found near the skeleton. The Period II of Pāṇḍu Rājār Dhibi which witnessed a very flourishing stage of civilization yielded altogether nine inhumations of three different types, viz., ordinary extended burial, incomplete or fractional burial of a secondary nature possibly made after exposure of the dead and post-exposure urn-burial. Among these there were six primary inhumations with east-west orientation. A fractional inhumation reflects some interesting funeral rites of the day, where a skull has been found placed vertically on the grave-pit, the orbital cavities of which have been covered by osseous matters. The arrangement of the skeletal remains reminds us about some passages from the *Kausikasutra*, 86 (8 & 10), a manual connected with the *Atharvaveda* where the ceremony of the interment of bones has been described. R.P. Chanda (1926) has expressed the opinion that this ceremony is associated with the interment of bones after cremation which is rather doubtful to us as in one stanza of the *Ṛgveda* (X, 15, 14), there is a reference about the 'fathers' who are '*anagnidagdhaḥ*' (not cremated). This stanza also occurs in the *Atharvaveda* (18, 2, 34) and with slight variation in the *Vajasaneya Saṃhitā* of *Sukla-Yajurveda* (19, 60). The *Ṛgveda* (18, 10-13) is supposed by some to refer to the complete burial of the uncremated body. Further, while giving injunctions about the building of the burial mound the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions: "But let him rather make it just of man's size, he thus leaves no room for another (13, 8, 1, 9)." Further the text says, "Let him not make it (the sepulchral mound) too large, lest he make the (deceased's) sin large. For a Kshatriya he may make it as high as a man with stretched arms, for a Brāhmaṇa reaching up to the mouth, for a woman up to the hips, for a Vaisya up to the thighs, for a Śūdra up to the knee (13, 8, 3, 11)." As the building of the sepulchre has been ordained to be made according to the size of a man and the height of the same according to the *Varṇa* of the deceased, it seems that complete dead bodies were interred in these grave-pits (*Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa*—Ed. by Eggeling). Chanda (1926) further adds that "in the *Kausikasutra* and in the ritual books of the *Śukla-Yajurveda* the urn is dispensed with and the bone relics are placed directly on the earth at the bottom of the grave, where these are re-arranged in the form of a human skeleton in accordance with the following stanza of the *Atharvaveda*: "Collect the body according to its joints; I arrange thy members with *Brāhman*." Complete or even partial cremation of the dead body as envisaged by some scholars in these passages would have made this practice impossible. "Then filling a dish with clarified butter (*sarpi*) and honey it is placed at the head of the re-arranged skeleton with the following stanza (A.V. 18.3.72) : "What fathers of thine went away earlier and what later, for them let there go a brook of ghee, hundred streamed (*satadhara*) overflowing." The bones are then sprinkled with water, reciting the following stanza of the *Atharavaveda* (18, 4, 36) which can be translated as thus: "Jar full of water pouring through thousand holes through hundred holes, held up in the sky, yielding nourishing water, though with numerous holes yet entire (*avidiryamanam*), beautiful (*samyaksobhamanam*), do Fathers wait on for drink" (*sradhabhih syaprinana—sadhanairannair hetubhih*). The red ware bowl with perforations in its base found along with this burial possibly recalls the passages just quoted from the *Kausikasutra*.

Another type of burial, viz., post-exposure urn-burial has also been brought to light, which was also practised here in the same period (Period II). Not far away from a grave-pit where an adult skeleton has been disinterred, two urn-burials, one placed towards the east and the other on the west have been exposed. However the urn-burials show some differences in treatment. While the one placed on the west contained a few human bones in urn of plain fabric and a broken lid of black and red ware, the other placed on the east contained the skull of an adult, hedged by the long bones covered by an almost intact big hemispherical jar of black and red ware. This practice of urn-burial with a cover of big hemispherical jar looking like the *auda* portion of a miniature *stupa* recalls some passages in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (13, 8, 2, 1) wherein it has been stated in connection with the building of burial mound: "The gods drove out the Asuras, their rivals and enemies, from this world; whence those godly people make their sepulchres so as not to be separated (from the earth) [and four cornered], whilst these (people) who are of the Asura nature, the Easterners and others, (make their sepulchral mounds) round, so as to be separated (from the earth), either on a basin or on some such thing" (pp. 423-424 and pp. 429-430, *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*). Here in these burial practices as mentioned in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* which find striking similarity and corroborations in the findings of urn-burials at Pāṇḍu Rājār Dhibi lay the germ of the idea of erection of *stupas* where osseous remains were deposited and of which elaborate descriptions have been given in the Buddhist and Jaina literatures.

It has already been stated that grave-furniture associated with the skeletal remains at Pāṇḍu Rājār Dhibi are quite scanty. The extended inhumation of the body of an adult which was found lying in east-west direction with face turned towards the south located not far away from the two urn-burials mentioned above, a tubular copper-bead was found sticking to the jaw of this skeleton, while a barrel-shaped bead of agate was found to have been placed near the right earlobe. The extended skeletal remains possibly of a child noticed just to the north of the skeleton described above reveal some interesting features. This has been found in a slightly flexed condition with arms and legs joined together, the ankle portions of which are missing and this possibly recalls the burial practices observed in such chalcolithic sites of the Deccan as at Nevasa, Chandoli and Daimabad where the ankles of the skeletons have been found to be chopped off. Perhaps in these practices some idea about the immobility of the spirit have been reflected, which have instigated the mourner to take recourse to such a step whereby the spirit of the dead will be unable to move.

The excavations conducted in the year 1965 at Pāṇḍu Rājār Dhibi also exposed some more skeletal remains. In the stratified deposits of Period I a headless skeleton was found to have been interred in an extended position. We are at a loss in observing the absence of skull from these skeletal remains, and we know not whether the similar practice like that observed at ancient Jericho like the embalmment of the skull was practised here also or the skulls were offered to some other places like the Navajo Indians who like to hang the skull of the dead ancestors in the house. In this connection may be cited some curious practices of the disposal of the dead as followed by some tribes of the north-east India belonging to the Mongolian race, which are interesting for our study. H. Sarkar (1951) has mentioned that the Konyak Nāgās follow the system of "exposure on platform followed by the separation of head from the decomposed body; the skull is kept in a sand-stone urn." Separate burial of the head in an earthen pot followed by the desiccation of the skull is the custom followed by the Thandon Kukis and Lushais as pointed out by Sarkar. Three more incomplete burials, one belonging to an adult and two of children were noticed in Phase II of the culture of Pāṇḍu Rājār Dhibi. Portions of human teeth kept in a small bowl of red ware belonging to the same period may perhaps indicate the fragmentary remains of an urn-burial.

The details about the findings at Haraipur, West Bengal are rather sketchy. From the brief reports it is understood that ten extended burials mostly belonging to the children with north-south orientations and having no grave goods in these remains have been disinterred there, which are now under examination by the Anthropological Survey of India.

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BUDDHISM AT TĀMRALIPTA

P.K. Maity

Rich with its ancient glory and historical past Tamluk (ancient Tāmralipta) is the subdivisional town of the district of Midnāpur, West Bengal and is located on the right bank of the river Rupnārāyan. In the ancient period Tāmralipta was known by various names as indicated by foreign and indigenous sources.[1] In the same period Tāmralipta was not only a great seaport of India but also one of the important *janapadas* (kingdoms) of Bengal having a larger area than the present geographical boundary of Tamluk Subdivision.[2]

Tāmralipta was not only an important city-port of ancient India[3] but also a noted centre of Buddhism as evident from the accounts of Chinese travellers namely Fa-hien, Hiuen-Tsang and I-tsing who spoke highly of the flourishing condition of Buddhism at Tāmralipta. All these accounts also bespeak the pre-eminence of Tāmralipta as an important centre of Buddhist learning and culture from the time of Fā-hien till the end of the seventh century A.D. Besides literary evidence, many archaeological findings at Tamluk throw sufficient light on the flourishing condition of Buddhist faith. Thus the sources of the present study are both literary and archaeological. On the basis of these sources an attempt has been made for the first time in this paper to trace the condition of Buddhism at Tāmralipta in ancient period.

Though we do not know definitely when Buddhism first found its footing at Tāmralipta, yet it may be assumed that the place came under the sway of Buddhism during the reign of great Maurya Emperor Aśoka (*c.* 273-232 B.C.). Historical records give sufficient proofs that some parts of Bengal at that time came under the Maurya empire. The Maurya empire included Puṇḍravardhana (i.e., North Bengal), one of the four important political divisions of the then Bengal as known from the Jaina and Buddhist texts, the Rock-cut Inscription found at Mahāsthāngarh and the account of Hiuen-Tsang.[4] It is further stated by Hiuen-Tsang that he saw many Aśokan columns at Tāmralipta, Karna Suvarna and Samatata. This also throws light on the point that besides Puṇḍravardhana, these parts of Bengal formed a part of Aśoka's empire.[5] If we accept the account left by Hiuen-Tsang, it may be concluded that possibly most of Bengal at that time formed a part of Aśoka's empire which however, must have also formed part of the empire of the first Maurya King Chandragupta, since we know that Aśoka added only Kaliṅga to Maurya empire in eastern India.

Possibly Tāmralipta was not an exception. That most of the area of Bengal formed part of the Aśokan empire is corroborated by Divyavādāna.[6] The inclusion of Tāmralipta within the empire of Aśoka is further supported by an indirect evidence recorded in the Ceylonese Chronicle, the *Mahāvamsa* written in Pāli. Besides the ancient history of Ceylon, this text furnishes much information about the history of Maurya dynasty. According to this text "Asoka sent Mahendra and Samghamitrā along with sapling of the sacred Bo tree from this very port (Tāmralipta) to Ceylon to propagate Buddhism in that island and it is narrated that on this occasion the emperor himself was present in the great harbour-city."[7] Though there is no clear historical evidence of the inclusion of Tāmralipta within the Mauryan empire, yet it may be assumed that owing to the spread of Buddhism under the fostering care of Aśoka in different parts of India and outside India Tāmralipta also came under the sway of Buddhism at that time. There is definite historical evidence that before the spread of Buddhism by Aśoka, the religion of Sākyamuni found a footing in some parts of Bengal.[8] Aśoka definitely accelerated its propagation by his religious zeal. The existence of Aśokan columns in Tāmralipta till the time of Hiuen-Tsang helps us to conclude that during Aśoka's time Buddhism found a base at Tāmralipta.

We do not have any definite historical evidence whether the kingdom or *janapada* of Tāmralipta came under the rule of the Śuṅgas (*c.* 187-75 B.C.), the Kanvas (75-30 B.C.) and the Kuṣāṇas (15 B.C.-A.D. 176). However, a few specimens of Śuṅga art findings especially of terracotta which have been unearthed or discovered from Tamluk Subdivision indicate the influence of Śuṅga rule in Tāmralipta.[9] In the year 1978 a few coins of the Kuṣāṇa king Habishka were found at Tamluk town proper and preserved in the Tāmralipta Museum and Research Centre (TMRC), Tamluk. These archaeological findings throw light on the inclusion of Tāmralipta within the domain of the Śuṅgas and the Kuṣāṇas. The discovery of a few terracottas at Tamluk and its surroundings preserved in TMRC and in the Asutosh Museum, University of Calcutta throw light on the spread of Buddhism in the Śuṅga period. Here, we may cite a few such terracotta plaques bearing Buddhist legends and associations.

A mutilated terracotta plaque of the second-first century B.C. found from the Pārbatīpur area of Tamluk town and preserved in TMRC (Fig. 1) vividly depicts a scene which reminds us of the story of *Anathapiṇḍada Jātaka*. This plaque vividly showing, in two-dimensional form of Śuṅga style, what appears to be the part of a traditional bullock-cart carrying coins evidently is an illustration of the story of the payment of a fabulous amount of money by the pious merchant Anathapiṇḍada for purchasing *Jeta-vana* for Lord Buddha.[10] This story has been elaborately depicted on the railing of Bhārut and in the stone sculpture of Amarāvatī.[11]

Besides, two more mutilated terracotta plaques of the first century B.C. have been found from Tamluk town and preserved in TMRC. In one of them is depicted a scene illustrating a gateway, probably an imitation of a Buddhist *stupa*, a tapestry hanging thereat and a smiling human head (Fig. 2). The torso of the figure is absent because of mutilation. The gateway on the plaque in question reminds us of the famous temple of the Lomas Rishi near Barabar hills in Bihar. Some of the scholars are inclined to identify the figure to be that of Indra himself, because of its similarity with that of a story in the stones of Bhārhut.[12] P.C. Das Gupta, Ex-Director of Archaeology, Govt. of West Bengal thinks it to represent the story of Udayana.[13]

The other terracotta plaque (Fig. 3) represents, "The story of Mallaraja who brought the memorial of Lord Buddha from Kuśinagara through a votive procession riding on an elephant. On the back of the elephant three riders are seen and possibly by their side a person holding an umbrella along with a procession of mob are depicted. Among the three riders the central one holds a pot or a votive *stupa*. As the plaque is broken, the whole story is not found in details. On the basis of the elaborate narration of the story depicted on the western gate of the Great *Stupa* at Sānchi, it is suggested that the mutilated plaque in question represents the same story."[14]

A few terracotta plaques representing the stories of the *Chhadanta Jātaka*[15] and the *Vessantara Jātaka*[16] collected from Tamluk and now in the possession of the Asutosh Museum bear sufficient proof of the existence of Buddhism in the Śuṅga-Kuṣāṇa period at Tāmralipta as known from their stylistic pattern.

In addition to these terracotta plaques, a few terracotta images of the Buddha have been found from Tamluk town as well as within the boundary of Tamluk Subdivision. Discussion is made here on the basis of the priority of the age. The TMRC has in its gallery three terracotta images of the Buddha of different types. One of them is a seated Buddha (Fig. 4) of the second-third century A.D., which is unique in terracotta art of Bengal. The lower part of this image is broken. The halo on the back-side of the head is found. The other one is also a seated Buddha of the late Gupta period. The head and the lower part of the image are broken (Fig. 5). This exhibits the Buddha in *Dharmachakra* posture i.e., in the act of explaining his first sermon. What remains is covered by *samghati* which hangs from both the hands. An image of Buddha head of a unique character is one of them (Fig. 6). The lower part is lost. This exhibits the artistic style of Amarāvatī. All these three terracotta Buddhist images have been collected from Tamluk town.

Another terracotta icon of a seated Buddha has been found at Tildā or Tildāganj,[17] a place in Tamluk Subdivision and is situated twenty miles away from Tamluk town. This specimen is preserved in the Asutosh Museum. It is a rectangular plaque where the Buddha is seen seated in *Padmāsana* pose on a raised platform displaying *Dharmachakrapravartana mudrā*. "The eyes are introspective and half-closed in deep meditation in the same classical idiom of Sārnāth. Behind the head is an oval shaped aureole which is flanked on either side by legends of Buddhist creed in early Gupta characters."[18]

Besides terracotta images of the Buddha, his stone image found at Tamluk town and preserved in TMRC deserves special mention in this connection. This specimen (Museum Accession No. 457) belongs to the fourth century A.D. Only the head survives. This sculpture of Lord Buddha with a subdued smile and the half-closed eyes staring at the tip of his nose is a unique specimen bearing artistic style of Amarāvatī to a great extent. It is an asset to be preserved in any Museum and an added glory too.

From the archaeological findings at Tāmralipta it may safely be concluded that Buddhism which most probably found a footing there due to the untiring efforts of Aśoka as already observed, continued till the close of the Gupta period. However, on the basis of the writings of the Chinese pilgrims we have come to know that Buddhism had a great foothold there till the end of the seventh century.

Besides the archaeological evidence, we have positive literary sources from where we get a vivid picture of Buddhism at Tāmralipta since the Gupta period. According to the Mahāyāna literature among the sixteen renowned Buddhist monks one was the Bengalee named Kālika. It is believed that he belonged to or was an inhabitant of Tāmralipta and lived in the pre-Gupta period.[19] The reference to it in the Mahāyāna literature throws light on the prevalence of Mahāyāna Buddhism at Tāmralipta in pre-Gupta period. However, for the Gupta period we find details about Buddhism from the testimony of the Chinese pilgrims. The first Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien who visited Tāmralipta in the early fifth century A.D. records that in his times there were twenty monasteries, all of which were inhabited by monks and Buddhism was in a flourishing condition.[20] Fa-hien was so much impressed with the well-equipped monastic libraries of Tāmralipta that he stayed there for two years writing out Buddhist *sutras* and drawing sketches of Buddhist images.[21] The drawing of sketches of Buddhist images throws light on the influence of Tāntricism in Buddhism as it is believed that the introduction of image worship in Buddhism was due to the influence of Tāntricism.[22] Though from the account of Fa-hien we have come to know about the predominant position of Buddhism at Tāmralipta, yet this predominance did not last long. When the next pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang visited Tāmralipta in the first half of the seventh century A.D., Buddhism was decaying as it is evident from his testimony that there were only ten monasteries in place of twenty-two recorded by Fahien. On the other hand, there were fifty *deva* temples in his times at Tāmralipta. Though Buddhism was in decline, yet it had a popular appeal in his times as the number of monks in those monasteries of Tāmralipta was about one thousand.[23] Regarding the schools of Buddhism current in different *janapadas* of Bengal, Hiuen-Tsang records that "in Puṇḍravardhana there were both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, in Karnasuvarna the Sammatiya school, in Tāmralipta the Sarvastivāda and in Samatata the Mahāyāna."[24]

The next Chinese pilgrim I-tsing (A.D. 673-687) who visited Tāmralipta in A.D. 673 furnishes some detailed information about the condition of Buddhism as well as the monastic life of his times. In his times there were only five or six monasteries at Tāmralipta,[25] which testifies to the further decadence of the Buddhist faith. However, he stayed in a *vihāra* called Po-lo-ho for some time. There he learnt Sanskrit and the *Sabdavidyā*, and rendered at best one Sanskrit text entitled: "*Nāgārjuna-bodhisattva-suhrillekha*" into Chinese.[26] While he was there he met another Chinese scholar named Ta-Ch'engteng.[27] The monastic life of Po-lo-ho *vihāra* has been recorded by I-tsing.[28]

> This monastery was inhabited by both monks and nuns with perfect discipline of life and conduct. The lands of the monastery were cultivated by the lay-tenants and the priests used to receive only a

> portion of the product. Thus they led their pure life, avoiding worldly affairs and being free from the faults of destroying lives by ploughing and watering fields. The business of the *vihāra* was carried on by the assembly of monks and the priests challenging the decision of the assembly were liable to be expelled from the monastery and treated like householders. Monastic rules and rites were explained by the learned monks to all inmates of the monastery on the four *Uposatha* days of every month. The junior monks were generally kept under strict discipline and the learned monks who mastered the *Piṭakas* were provided with the best rooms and servants. Such monks were entrusted with the work of delivering lectures daily and exempted from the usual duties of an ordinary priest...
>
> The nuns, however, were living under more severe regulations and they were never allowed to walk alone outside the monastery. They were to walk in a company of two, and if they had to go to any layman's house they were to go in a company of four. Laywomen visiting the monastery were not permitted to go to the apartments of the priests and they were to talk with them at the corridor.[29]

Besides these three Chinese travellers, there were other Chinese scholars who came to Tāmralipta mainly for study. They were Tā-Ch'eng-teng, Tāo-lin, Hwui Tā and Hwui Lun. Tā-Ch'eng-teng stayed there for twelve years and acquired a vast knowledge of Sanskrit Buddhist texts. For his depth of study of Mahāyāna literature he earned the title: '*Mahāyānapradīpa*'.[30] After returning to China he explained the *Nidānasāstra* of Ullanga.[31] Tāo-lin also resided there for three years, learning the Sanskrit language and got himself initiated to the Sarvāstivadā school.[32] Hwui Tā, a priest of Kung Chow, met Ta-Ch'eng-teng at Tāmralipta and remained with him for a year, learning Sanskrit and acquiring knowledge in the *Sabda-Śāstra*.[33] Hwui Lun, a Korean Buddhist scholar also came to India. From his writings we have come to know the distance between Nālandā and Tāmralipta and some information about Tāmrailpta.[34] One is tempted to think that he also visited the place, though the purpose of his visit is not known.

From our present study it is clear that Buddhism at Tāmralipta was in a flourishing condition especially from the fourth century to the close of the seventh century and that the monasteries of this place were also famous for Buddhist learning and culture. However, though Buddhism received patronage of the Pāla Kings (A.D. 750-1055), yet we do not have any positive evidence of its satisfactory survival after the close of the seventh century. Besides other factors like the revival of Brahmanism, possibly the decline of Tāmralipta as a seaport of India, made it lose its importance as a noted centre of Buddhist learning and culture. Probably since the early Pāla period the sea on which the famous city-port Tāmralipta stood, receded far away from this place and turned it into a mere subdivisional town of today.[35]

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16. cf., Das Gupta, P.C., *op. cit.*, p. 7.
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35. For the photographs used in this article, I am indebted to the authorities of the Tamralipta Museum and Research Centre, Tamluk, Midnapur.

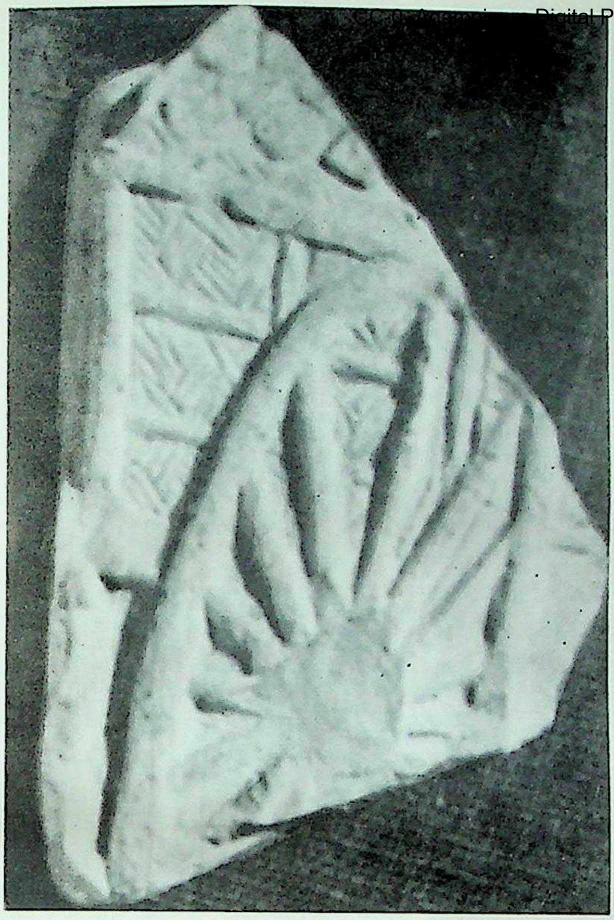

Fig. 1

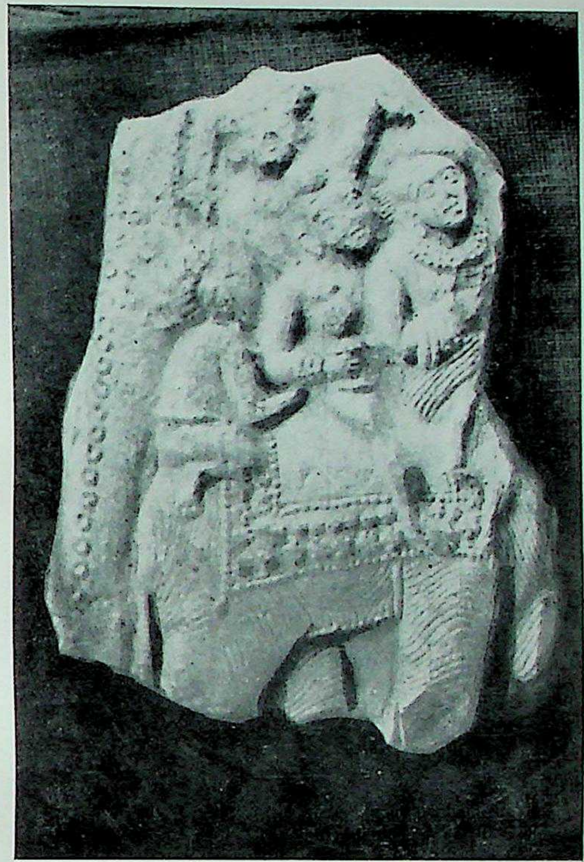

Fig. 3

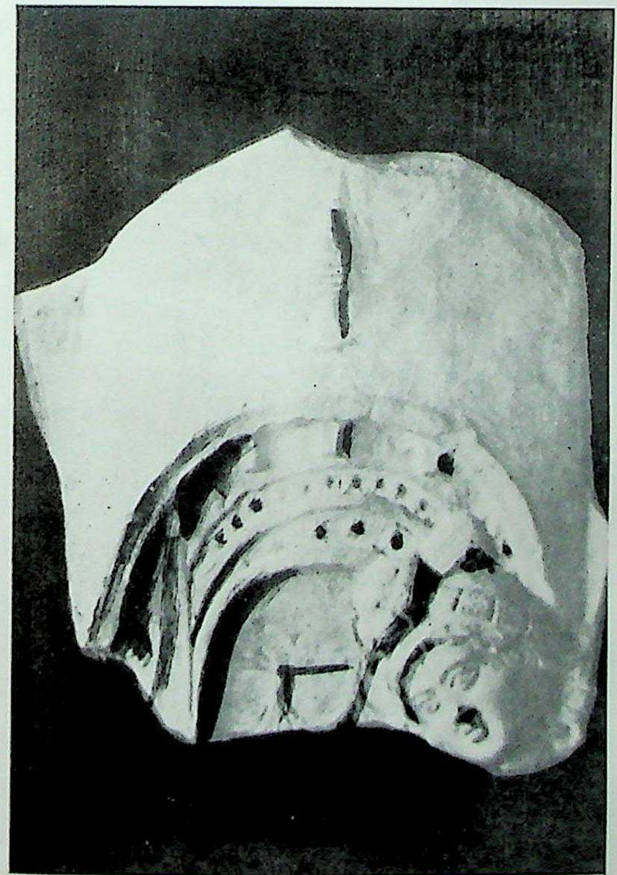

Fig. 2

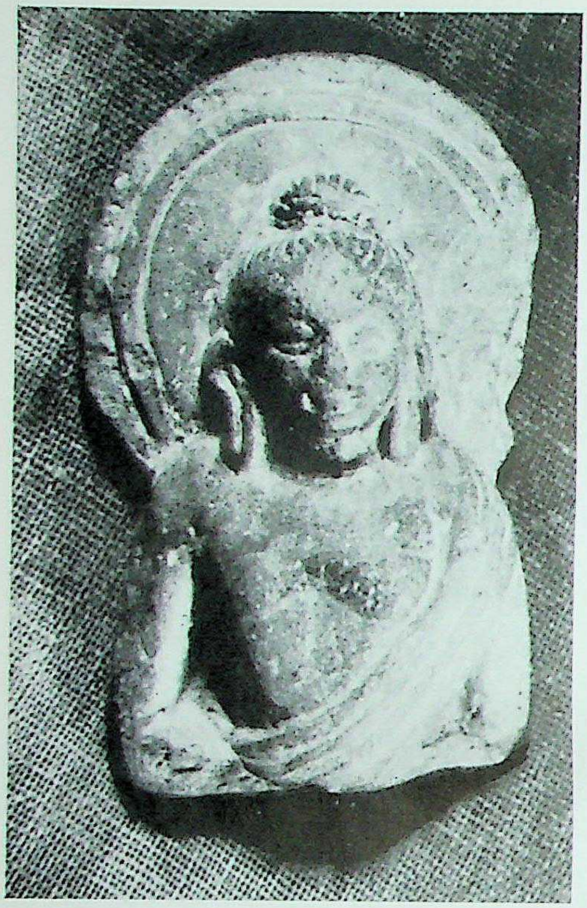

Fig. 4

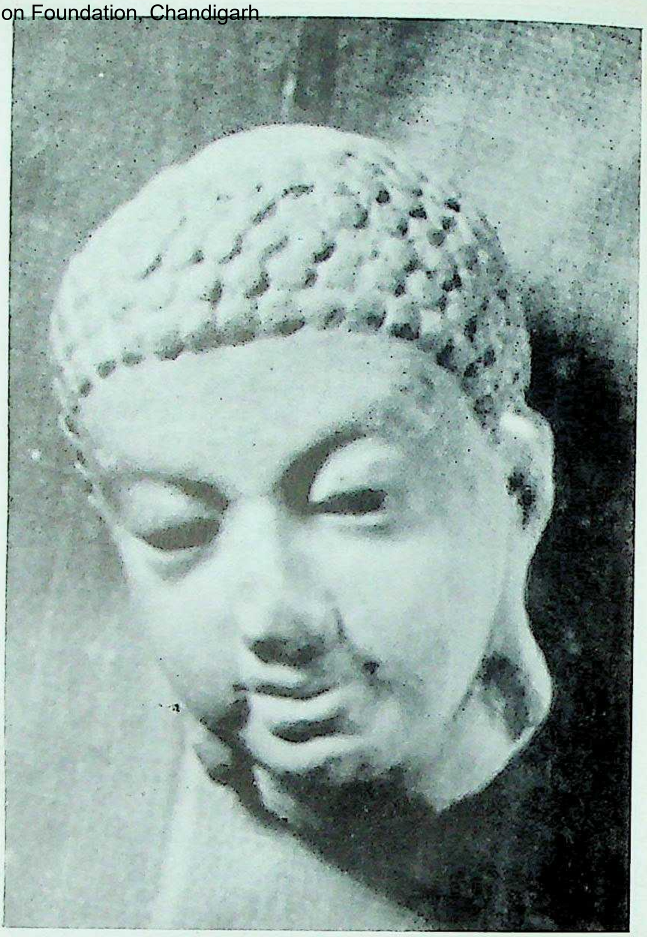

Fig. 6

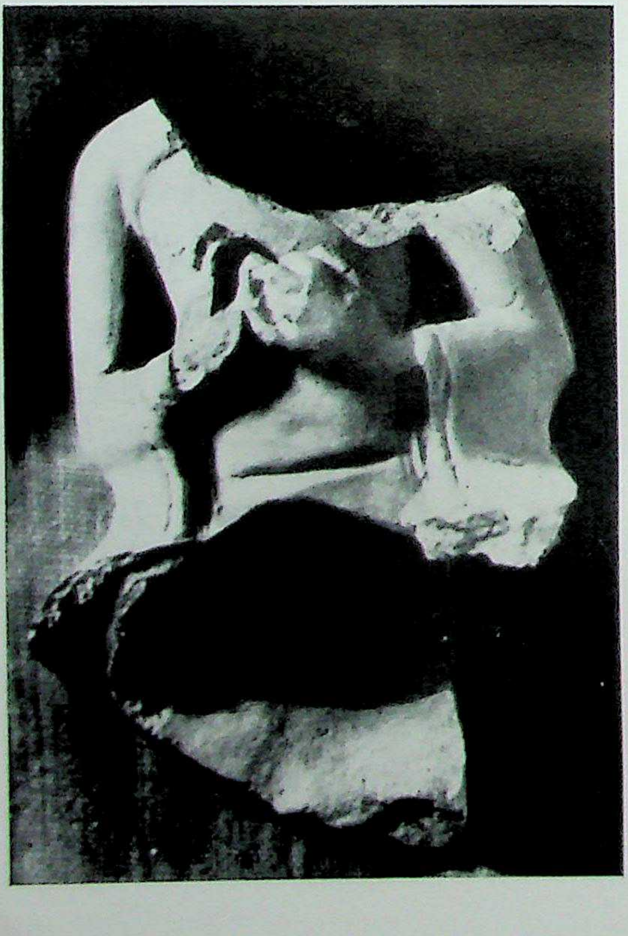

Fig. 5

26

DEVALA ON ARIṢṬAS

Lallanji Gopal

In the *Mokṣakāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* Lakṣmīdhara, a minister under king Govindacandra (A.D. 1113-1158) of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty, quotes Devala thirty-two times. These quotations include one each in chapter 25 on *ariṣṭas*[1] and chapter 26 on *utkrānti*[2]. The first quotation contains nineteen verses, whereas the second has seven verses. These verses are not known to have been quoted by any other later writer of commentary or digest.

The first quotation deals with premonitory signs. They refer to death after a year, 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2 months, 1 month, 15, 12, 4, 3 and 2 days or to immediate death. Some of the indications are in the form of superstitions. But, others actually relate to morbidity of senses. Certain types of dreams are also indications of impending death.

The second set of verses advise the *yogī* to go to the east or north and, in a quiet place to practise *dhāraṇā* (holding the breath suspended) 100 or 108 times. By this his vital air goes upward and he obtains *nirvāṇa*. Having seen indications of impending death, a *yogī* is to resort to *dhyāna* (meditation). Leaving his body while meditating, he goes to Maheśvara and attains the Supreme Being. This state is free from birth, death, old age, disease, fear and attachment and is difficult to attain even by gods and ascetics.

Originally the two sets of verses were connected in a sequence. There are several arguments to establish it. First, both relate to a *yogī* and to the rules and practices provided for him. Both pertain to his conduct in the closing part of his life, explaining how he should prepare himself for his death and strive to achieve the highest goal. Secondly, there is a clear continuity of ideas between the last line of the first set of the verses[3] and the first verses of the second set.[4] The former requires a person, whose life is ending shortly, to perform pious duties. The latter requires a person to give up fear and grief and, purifying himself and with a composed mind, to proceed in the east or north direction. Thirdly, that the second set of verses immediately follows the first set is indicated by the fact that whereas the first set lists the *ariṣṭas*, verse 4 in the second set requires a *yogi*, who has seen the *ariṣṭas*, to resort to *dhyāna*[5]. Fourthly, the first line in the second set of verses[6] appears as the last line in verse 33 of Chapter 19 of the *Vāyupurāṇa*[7] dealing with *ariṣṭas*. This shows that the second set of verses of Devala immediately followed the verses on *ariṣṭas*. This is supported by the account of *ariṣṭas* in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. Verse 17 at the end of the account on *ariṣṭas* in chapter 305 of the *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahabhārata* (critical edition) says that a person, knowing the self, having seen the *ariṣṭas*, should associate himself (*yojayet*) day and night with the Supreme Being.[8] The second set of verses in Devala mentions in deail the path to be followed by a *yogī*. The *Mahābhārata* mentions this advice in one line and thus shows that the two sets of verses in Devala are inseparably connected. The same type of advice to a *yogī* is given in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* in verses 37 to 40 appearing at the end of the list of *ariṣṭas* in chapter 43.

We have only one short *Smṛti* under the name of Devala containing ninety verses.[9] There is not even the remotest possibility of the verses quoted in the *Kṛtyakalpataru* being associated with this *Devalasmṛti*. The quotations from Devala occurring in the medieval commentaries and digests indicate that there were two other texts under the name of Devala, which have not come down to us in their full form. One of these was a *Smṛti*, while the other was a *Dharmasūtra*.[10] As no prose passages are associated with the verses on *ariṣṭa* and *utkrānti*, the natural reaction is to atttribute them to the *Devalasmṛti*. But, the absence of *sūtras* is not a conclusive reason to dissociate the verses from the *Devaladharmasūtra*. The surviving quotations from the *Devaladharmasūtra* indicate that the original text contained *sūtras* and verses alike. It is not unlikely that the introductory *sutras* on *ariṣṭas* were not of much significance and hence were not quoted by Lakṣmīdhara. It is also possible that the chapter on *ariṣṭas* in the section on Yoga in the *Devaladharmasūtra* did not have any introductory *sūtra*. The first verse in the quotation on *ariṣṭas*[11] itself introduces the subject and seems to have occurred in the beginning of the chapter.

There are good reasons for associating these verses with the *Devaladharmasūtra* as against the *Devalasmṛti*. First, *ariṣṭa* is not known to have been a subject treated in any known *Smṛti*. This argument may, however, be controverted by the remark that *ariṣṭas* do not likewise occur in any of the known *Dharmasūtras*. This leads us to the second and more cogent argument. The *Devaladharmasūtra* differed from other *Dharmasūtras* in its scope. It seems to have dealt with many topics not known to have been covered by the other *Dharmasūtras*. For example, Śaṅkara, the Advaita philosopher, prominently records that the *Dharmasūtra* of Devala emphasized the Sāṅkhya doctrine of *pradhāna* being the cause of the world. Among the quotations from Devala there are many passages, *sūtras* and verses alike, which give an elaborate treatment to Yoga. We find that the verses in question have a direct relevance for Yoga activities and a *yogī*. The first verse in the quotation on *ariṣṭas* says that the *ariṣṭas* are described as they appear in Yoga. Verse 10 of this quotation clearly mentions the *ariṣṭa* with reference to a *yogī*. In the second set of verses on *utkrānti* the third and the fourth verses refer to a *yogī* resorting to *dhāraṇā* and the fifth advises him to practise *dhyāna*. Thus, it is abundantly clear that the two sets of verses were composed in the context of the practice of Yoga and lay down the course of action to be followed by a *yogī* towards the end of his life. They, thus, seem to have formed a logical sequence to the section on Yoga in the *Devaladharmasūtra*. It is further to be noted that Lakṣmīdhara possibly had a direct knowledge of the full text of the *Devaladharmasūtra*. In the *Mokṣakaṇḍa* itself Devala's *sūtras* are quoted fifteen times, out of which three contain verses immediately following them.[12] In many quotations of verses not associated with *sūtras* in that text, we can easily demonstrate that they also belonged to the *Dharmasūtra*.[13] Thus, with reasonable certainty we can take the two sets of quotations to have been parts of the *Devaladharmasūtra*.

Notes and References

1. pp. 248-250.
2. p. 255.
3. सद्योजीवः स वै विप्रः शुभकर्माणि कारयेत् ।
4. त्यक्त्वा भयं विषादं च शुचिर्भूत्वा समाहितः ।
   प्राचीं वा यदि वोदीचीं दिशं निष्क्रम्य वै द्विजः ॥
5. दृष्ट्वारिष्टो यतिश्रेष्ठो योगी ध्यानपरो भवेत् ।
6. त्यक्त्वाभयं विषादं च शुचिभूत्वा समाहितः ।
7. त्यक्त्वाभयविषादञ्च उद्गच्छेद्बुद्धिमान्नरः ।
   As *Liṅgapurāṇa*, I. 91 is known to have been copied from the *Vāyupurāṇa*, XIX, the second line in verse 36 of the *Liṅgapurāṇa* is also similar.
8. एतावन्ति त्वरिष्टानि विदित्वा मानोऽत्मवान् ।
   निशि चाहनि चात्मानं योजयेत्परमात्मनि ॥
9. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series No, 48, *Smṛtīnāṃ samuccayaḥ*, pp. 85-89.
10. P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, part I, pp. 283-84 See also our article 'Was there a Devala-dharmasūtra?' published in Baladeva Upadhyaya Felicitation Volume of the *Journal of the Ganganatha Jhaa Kendriy Sanskrit Vidyapeeth*, Vol. XXXVII (1981), pp. 189-97.
11. अथाऽरिष्टं प्रवक्ष्यामि यथावद्योगकर्मणि ।
    यथोक्तमृषिभिः पूर्वं मायुर्विज्ञानमादितः ॥
12. *Kṛtyakalpataru*, Mokṣa, pp. 84, 109 and 216.
13. See for example verses on pages 86-87, 89-90, 92, 93-94 which are early part of the chapter on *pāpadoṣas* beginning on pages 84-86 with *sutras*.

27

CHANDRAGUPTA IV

Nisar Ahmed

On three gold coins of the Archer type of the Gupta Series which have the reverse legend *Dvādaśāditya* each weighing over 144 grains, John Allan reads the name of their issuer, inscribed under the left arm of the king's effigy, as *Chandra*. As the title Dvādaśāditya was different from that of Chandragupta II and the weight of the coins over 144 grains was based on the heavyweight standard which was introduced for the Gupta currency in the time of Skandagupta, he ascribes them to a successor of Skandgupta, and calls him Chandragupta III.[1] But D.C. Ganguly corrected the reading of the king's name as *Vainya* and attributed them to Vainyagupta known from the Gunaighar copper-plate and the Nalanda seal.[2] Panna Lal also, after examining the engravings in Marsaden's plates and the original coins at the British Museum, agreed to this new reading. He also discussed the same with Allan who, too, accepted it.[3]

Vincent Smith, too, records five coins, nos. 30-34, of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, each of which exceeds 140 grains in weight issued on the heavyweight standard, as variety *B* under class II of Chandragupta (II) Vikramāditya, because he reads the epithet on the reverse of all as *Śrī Vikramaḥ* and also finds out the name *Chandra* under the left arm of the king on the obverse of some of them.[4] But E.J. Rapson has doubts about this assignment. To him, the identification of the reverse legend as *Śrī Vikramāditya* is definitely not correct. Here he refers to the British Museum coins which have the legend *Śrī Dvādaśāditya* on the reverse, although that, too, according to him, "cannot by itself be right." Even the does not believe the reading of the name inscribed under the king's arm. Again he recognizes the vowel marks above the first letter, and, to him, the second letter appears "more like *-tya* than *-ndra*". Actually, here he keeps the British Museum coins of *Dvādaśāditya* in his view and not those of the Indian Museum. However, he rightly suggests that these heavyweight coins cannot be ascribed to any ruler earlier than Skandagupta, because "during his reign the standard was changed from the *stater* (about 135 grains) to the *Suvarṇa* (about 146 grains)." Therefore, he states that these heavy coins, "even if the name Chandra really occurs on them, belong to some later monarch of that name", and, "degradation of style and impurity of metal . . . would naturally place them after the heavy coins which bear the name of Skanda." Nevertheless, he thinks that these coins are altogether mysterious[5]; to this we do not subscribe.

These Indian Museum coins are divided into two sub-varieties. The coin nos. 30-32 fall in the first sub-variety while coin nos. 33 and 34 in the second sub-variety. According to Smith, the coins of the first sub-variety have the name of the king written vertically as *Chandra* under the left arm of the figure and on the coins of the second sub-variety the name of the king is unrecorded. On the reverse of the coins of both the sub-varieties, he reads *Śrī Vikramaḥ*.

Their weights and measurements are as follows:

No.	*Weight*	*Measurement*
30	141.8 grains	0.8 inch
31	**Broken**	0.8 "
32	145.8 grains	0.8 "
33	142.1 "	0.88 "
34	146.2 "	0.83 "

Although Smith catalogues them under the name of Chandragupta II, yet he thinks that "the base metal coins of this variety may be posthumous; and the others, perhaps, a late, provincial issue."[6] Kar wrongly takes Smith's note to have been intended for 'the coins of the sub-variety 1',[7] although the latter puts it for the entire variety. Again, out of the three coins of the sub-variety 1, nos. 31 and 32 are said to have been made of 'very base metal'[8] and 'much alloyed gold', respectively. Therefore Kar's statement is not in accordance with the observation of Smith. Thus according to Smith coin no. 30 of the sub-variety 1 and coin nos. 33 and 34 of the sub-variety 2 were the provincial issues struck late in the reign of Chandragupta II and coin nos. 31 and 32 of the sub-variety 1 were minted after the death of Chandragupta II. But Kar thinks that all the coins of the sub-variety 1 were "certainly the contemporary issues of that monarch,[9] and, joins Allan[10] in suggesting that those of the sub-variety 2 were struck by Purugupta. J. N. Banerjea only inspected the coin no. 30 at first hand. He finds its gold like the lighter Archer coins of Chandragupta II and their close resemblance 'in style and execution'.[11] But he attributes all the three Indian Museum coins, nos. 30-32 of the sub-variety 1, to Chandragupta II, since he does not want "to postulate the existence of a hitherto unknown Chandragupta III, also having the epithet of *Śrī-Vikrama* like his famous homonymous predecessor",[12] as they bear it on their reverse. On this problem, Allan appears inconsistent in his observations; on the one hand he attributes coin no. 31 to Chandragupta II because he finds it similar to nos. 96-99 of the British Museum, which have the name Chandra under the left arm of the king's figure and are struck on 132 grains standard;[13] but on the other hand he says that the Archer type coins of the heavy weight based on the *suvarṇa* standard cannot be attributed to Chandragupta II because this weight-standard was not in use before Skandagupta.[14] P. L. Gupta also writes that the heavy weights (141.8 and 145.8 grains of the coin nos. 30 and 32) definitely suggest that they were not minted earlier than the reign of Skandagupta.[15] None of the coins of the sub-variety 1 can be kept with those of Chandragupta II as two of them, 30 and 31, have certain features which are conspicuously absent on the issues of Chandragupta II. No. 30 bears a peculiar symbol between the *Garuḍa*-standard and the king's head, and no. 31 is characterized to have oval head-standard with cross inside instead of *Garuda*-standard. No. 32 belonged to Budhagupta as it undoubtedly contains his name under the left arm.[16] Hence, the 'close similarity in style and execution' has no place in the determination of the issues of these coins.

In this connection Kar refers to a coin of the Horseman type of Bodleian collection weighing 140.5 grains with the reverse legend *Kramājitaḥ*.[17] Smith[18] and Rapson[19] ascribe it to Chandragupta II. But Allan, on the basis of its weight and the legend *Kramājitaḥ*, assigns it to Skandagupta.[20] Kar rejects this attribution because "the heavy weight of the coin does not of itself render its attribution to Chandragupta II impossible." He also writes that "the epithet *Kramājitaḥ* may be similar to *Kramāditya* of Skandagupta, but it is also synonymous with the epithet *Ajitavikramaḥ* of Chandragupta II, occurring on his lighter Horseman type coins."[21] Therefore, he attributes not only the three heavyweight coins of the Archer type in the Indian Museum but also the heavyweight Horseman coin in the Bodleian collection, to Chandragupta II. A.S. Altekar in respect of the Horseman type coin makes contradictory observations: at one place he accepts its attribution to Chandragupta II[22] but at another place he refutes the reading *Kramājitaḥ* as it does not convey any sense. To him, the third letter appears more like *da* than *ja*. Hence he takes the legend as *Kramāditya* and attributes it to Skandagupta.[23] But the letter in question is *ja*. So the tittle has to be regarded as *Kramājitaḥ*. Skandagupta, possibly, continued the type introduced by his grandfather Chandragupta II and followed by his father Kumāragupta I; and like Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I who inscribed *Ajitavikrama*[24] and *Ajitamahendra*[25] on their coins of Horseman type, respectively, he used *Kramājitaḥ* on it. And, therefore, this coin was most probably issued by Skandagupta and not by Chandragupta II.

Kar holds that Chandragupta II was the first among the Gupta emperors to use the *Suvarṇa* standard and the coins of this standard were issued "for circulation in a territory where the Kushāṇa standard was unknown and unacceptable."[26] And that was "Bengal which, of all the regions under the Guptas, was farthest removed from the Kushāṇa pale."[27] But the heavyweight coins are not thereby confined to Bengal; there are also found from the parts of Bihar[28] and Uttar Pradesh.[29] The latter province was definitely under the 'Kushāṇa pale'. Not only this, the Gupta gold coins of the lighter weight standards are also known from the parts of Bengal.[30] Hence the supposition, that the coins of the lighter and heavy weights were meant for the territories which were under and outside Kuṣhāṇa influence, respectively, is baseless. Kar himself feels the point of weakness in his hypothesis as he visualizes an argument that if "the *suvarṇa* standard had made its appearance in the Gupta gold currency as early as the reign of Chandragupta II, then there is no reason why it should not have been followed by Kumāragupta I during his long reign."[31] So to bring the matter home he suspects that "the two heavy-weight coins of Archer type class I, attributed to Kumāragupta II, may perhaps belong to Kumāragupta I."[32] But this is unwarranted. Kar also puts forth another plea that even if it is presumed that Kumāragupta I did not strike coins of the *suvarṇa* standard; likewise he did not issue the coins of the 132 grains standard introduced by Chandragupta II and used by Skandagupta; and, the non-continuation of the 132 grains standard by Kumāragupta I "does not, however, vitiate the attribution of the Archer coins of the 132 grains standard with *Chandra* in the field to Chandragupta II."[33] Hence he thinks that Chandragupta II struck these heavyweight coins as those of the 132 grains standard; and the rarity of these coins is inferred by him that they were issued late in his reign.[34] On this Altekar remarks: "Unlike the rather unusual standard of 132 grains, for sometime tried by Chandragupta II, the *Suvarṇa* standard of 144 grains was a national one, and when once introduced in Skandagupta's reign, persisted till the end of the Gupta dynasty."[35] But the fact is that coins of 132 grains weight standard did not belong to Chandragupta II.[36]

In spite of all this, Altekar finds "sufficient reasons to suggest that they were issued by Chandragupta II, though he himself admits that "it is rather difficult to understand why it should not have been followed by his son Kumāragupta I, at least for some of his issues during his long reign of more than forty years."[37] But on this point, he is not consistent. At one place, while writing the corpus on the Gupta coins, he accepts that Chandragupta II "did issue some coins of the *suvarṇa* standard, but later gave up the experiment,"[38] and at another place, he writes that it is very doubtful to say that "the standard of 140 grains was current" in the reign of Chandragupta II.[39]

Notwithstanding the non-adoption of the weight by Kumāragupta I during his entire reign and his son Skandagupta in the earlier period of his reign, are the strong facts which go against the supposition that their predecessor Chandragupta II introduced *suvarṇa* weight coins. It can also be pointed out that the weight of Gupta gold currency gradually increased from reign to reign. The subsequent discovery of the Bayana hoard shows that Kumāragupta did mint coins of 132 grains standard; but certainly the effort in this direction was made at the expiry of his reign. His son Skandagupta, in the earlier part of his reign, used this weight standard of 132 grains. And in the later period, he introduced the heavy standard for his coins,[40] weighing between 138 and 142.8 grains.[41] The coins of the sub-variety 1, are struck on this heavyweight standard. This fact itself shows that the coins of sub-variety 1 were issued after Skandagupta. Even if the weight of the coin is put aside, in determination of the chronology of the coins, the gold content of the coins has to be taken into account. We know that among the three coins of the sub-variety 1, two are in very base metal. Altekar rightly observes that the Gupta empire was at the height of its glory and prestige during the reign of Chandragupta II, and it seems extremely unlikely that he would have tolerated the circulation of such base pieces.[42] B. P. Sinha also states that "it is certainly not explainable as to why should Chandragupta II Vikramāditya issue such base metal coins in a period of unexampled prosperity which is well illustrated by the variety and quality of his coins."[43] Altekar himself also feels that in the period of Chandragupta II the Gupta treasury was overflowing and, therefore, "he is not likely to have issued such heavily adulterated gold coins."[44] No doubt it is difficult to define the causes of coining of such inferior metallic pieces by Chandragupta II when the Gupta empire was at its zenith politically and economically during his time. Not only he completed the task of his father's *digvijaya* but, besides inheriting the eastern part, made himself the master of western part and issued so extensive currency in gold with high quality and purity that no Hindu king did in the entire history of Indian numismatics.

Hence Altekar, realizing the difficulties in the attribution of these coins to Chandragupta II, also proposes the possibility of the existence of a hitherto unknown ruler Chandragupta III, who may have been one of the claimants of the Gupta throne during the end of the fifth century; and he struck coins in support of his imperial status, which were in impure gold because of his limited resources. He also adopted the title of *Vikrama* after his famous homonymous predecessor. In this connection he adds that all the kings of the Rāshtrakūta dynasty named Krishna and Govinda had the title of *Akālavarsha* and *Prabhūtavarsha*, respectively.[45] He further writes that some of these coins have the representation of a peculiar symbol between the *Garuḍa* and the king's head, which also occurs at the same place on some of those of Vishṇugupta, the last Imperial Gupta king; and, no such symbol is represented at this place on the issues of any of the great Gupta emperors. This definitely suggests that the issuer of these coins was a person different from Chandragupta II.[46] But for want of 'definite evidence', he tentatively attributes these coins to Chandragupta II.[47] Undoubtedly the peculiar symbol occurs, but only on one piece, no. 30 of the sub-variety 1. This is conspicuously absent on the coins of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I. Therefore, it is the sufficient and definite evidence to prove that at least coin no. 30 was not issued by Chandragupta II. Further in this respect, it can also be mentioned here that the epithet, inscribed on the reverse of this coin, is different from *Vikrama* which was the title of Chandragupta II.

In the view of Allan, coin nos. 30 and 32 belong to Chandragupta III.[48] Sinha ascribes all the three coins (nos. 30-32) of the sub-variety 1 to this king.[49] S. R. Goyal assigns him all the coins of both the sub-varieties.[50] But most probably the coins of the sub-variety 2 were issued by Purugupta.[51] Gupta accepts the attribution suggested by Sinha.[52] Among the coins of sub-variety 1, coin no. 32 bears the legend *Budha* under the left arm of the king's effigy and coin no. 31 is devoid of the name of the issuer. The coin no. 31 alone has the legend *Chandra* under the left arm of the obverse figure. On its reverse Smith finds apparently the legend *Śrī Vikramah*. According to Altekar, it is not clearly preserved.[53] But Gupta retains Smith's reading.[54] Sinha also supports it; and, he says that even if "the reverse legend is not absolutely clear," it "cannot be rejected without any positive evidence against it." He also considers that because of the obverse legend *Chandra*, "the probability of the reverse legend being *Śrī Vikramaḥ* is strengthened."[55] But here, the legend is composed of five letters, and for inscribing *Śrī Vikramaḥ*, only four alphabets are needed. Hence this reverse legend is certainly different from *Śrī Vikramaḥ*. Again, the first letter is not *Śrī* but *a*. The second character looks like *ri*. Subsequently, there are three letters, which are correctly deciphered as *Vikramaḥ*. So this reverse legend appears to be *Arivikramaḥ* and not *Śrī Vikramaḥ*. But as the coin no. 31 bears the legend *Śrī Vikramaḥ* on the reverse and oval-head-standard with cross inside instead of *Garuḍa*-standard, it cannot be regarded to have been issued by this ruler. Similarly the attribution of the three heavyweight coins of the British Museum without the king's name on the obverse but the legend *Śrī Vikramaḥ* on the reverse,[55] to this monarch by Sinha, as a likelihood,[56] is unwarranted. The coin no. 30 of the Indian Museum has the image of the king wearing long coat and *dhoti*. He holds bow in the left hand and arrow in the right. The *Garuḍa*-standard is represented behind his right arm and a peculiar symbol—Gupta and Srivastava call it an architectural form[57]—between head and *Garuḍa*. Its reverse bears the figure of Lakshamī seated facing on the lotus and holding noose in right hand and lotus in the left.

Gupta and Srivastava register a gold coin of the Archer type of the Bharat Kala Bhawan under Chandragupta III. It has, on the obverse, the figure of the king depicted bare-bodied except the undergarment *dhoti* up to knee on his person, the plain staff of the *Garuḍa*-standard, a symbol—an architectural form—between *Garuḍa* and king's head, and the legend *Chandra* under his left arm. Its reverse bears the effigy of the goddess holding noose and lotus. It weighs 134 grains (8.68 grams) and measures 0.8 inch (1.95 cm.).[58] They, apart from keeping this coin with that of the Indian Museum referred to here, too, place some British Museum coins with the symbols depicted between *Garuḍa* and king's head together with these.[59] Elsewhere one of the two authors agrees with the fact that the heavyweight standard started with Skandagupta's reign and, therefore, here they rightly hold the placement by Allan of the Indian Museum coin after that emperor. No doubt the specimens of the Indian Museum and the Bharat Kala Bhawan are related according to the obverse symbol and the similarity of the reverse, but the attribution of the latter, in view of the fact that it weighs under heavyweight standard, to the same period to which the Indian Museum coin of the heavyweight belonged, is not explained. But to elucidate this peculiarity, a few coins of the successor of Skandagupta, which were under heavyweight standard, can be cited.[60] Further the representations of the king's figure and his undergarment *dhoti* in degraded form take it to the post-Skandagupta period. Gupta and Srivastava, read the legend *Vikrama* on the reverse and take it as *Śrī V(i)kkramaḥ*.[61] But simply the letters *krama* are visible and hence they can very well be regarded as the part of the reverse-legend *Arivikramaḥ* inscribed on the Indian Museum coin. Nevertheless, these coins cannot be associated with those of the British Museum with the obverse symbols because they were minted on the weight standards of 122, 127 and 133 grains and in fabric, too, they differ from these specimens.

Thus there are two gold coins of the Archer type, one no. 30 of the Indian Museum and the other no. 218 of the Bharat Kala Bhawan, which reveal the existence of a king named Chandragupta among the successors of Skandagupta. This ruler has to be recorded as Chandragupta IV and not Chandragupta III as a king of this name, known from the British Museum coins with the obverse symbols, had already preceded Skandagupta. About this ruler not much is known. His parentage Is also a matter of speculation. Allan considers him as the father of Prakāśāditya,[62] but this is not true. In the opinion of Sinha, possibly he was another son of Kumāragupta I and a rival claimant after him.[63] He declared himself sovereign in Tirabhukti,[64] which had a tradition of royal princes as Viceroys, and struck coins there. But this can also not be accepted because he minted his Indian Museum coin on heavy weight which came in use for the first time during the reign of Skandagupta. Goyal suggests that he was the son of Budhagupta and ascended the throne after Budhagupta was killed by his enemies.[65] Gupta only proposes that he came on the throne after Budhagupta was killed.[66] The view that he flourished after Budhagupta is based on the *Aryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* wherin a ruler named Chandra is mentioned in between the king's Deva and Dvādaśa. They identify Deva with Budhagupta. But this text certainly has the confused records of the chronological position of the Gupta kings. Gupta further on the ground of the peculiar symbol represented on the coins which, according to him, is unknown on any coin of Kumāragupta I, Skandgupta, Kumāragupta II and Budhagupta, places him after Budhagupta. No doubt Gupta is misled by the statement of Altekar that this peculiar symbol is not found on the coins of any of the great Gupta kings. In fact Altekar fails to notice its occurrence on a coin[67] of Skandagupta, and the symbol of Vishṇugupta's coins, although Allan records its shape similar to that of the coin of this ruler,[68] differs in form and place of occurrence.[69]

No doubt the resemblance in the symbol design and its occurrence only on the coins of Chandragupta IV and Skandagupta establish their proximity. This is also proved by the metal contents and the weights of the gold coins. The coins of Skandagupta[70], Kumāragupta II,[71] and Budhagupta[72] have 94.05-67.0, 79.0 and 70.0 as the average percentage of the pure gold, respectively; and the coin of Chandragupta III contains 83.25 percentage of pure gold.[73] The heavy coins of Skandagupta and Kumāragupta II[74] represent the average weight of about 142 grains and the coin of Chandragupta III also has the same weight. This evidence certainly indicates that Chandragupta IV did not flourish after Budhagupta but intervened Skandagupta and Kumāragupta II.

Chandragupta IV was probably a son and the legal heir of Skandagupta and he ascended the throne after his death. He called himself *Arivikrama*, after the *Vikrama*—a title adopted by his great grandfather Chandragupta II, and also as one of the epithets by his father Skandagupta. But, perhaps, he reigned for a short period as the availability of his two coins suggest. According to the *Aryamañjuśrī mūlakalpa*, he was "cut to pieces with weapans." It is not unlikely that the person responsible for this act was his successor.

Gupta thinks that "in his time, the Gupta empire had a most severe shock from the Huṇas; and it lost all its paramountcy once for all."[75] This conjecture is based on his assumption that he came to the throne in A.D. 495 after Budhagupta. But this itself is unproved. Chandragupta IV surely had inherited Gupta empire intact.

Notes and References

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2. *Indian Historical Quarterly* (*IHQ*), IX, pp. 784ff.
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8. A.S. Altekar takes it 'almost as a copper piece' (*ibid.*, p. 18: *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 98).
9. *JNSI*, VII, p. 16.
10. *BMC*, *GD*, p. cii, fn. 1; B.P. Sinha also hold this view (*The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 48).
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13. *BMC*, *GD*, p. liii, fn. 1.
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27. *ibid.*, fn. 1.
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38. *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 98.
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43. *The Decline of ihe Kingdom of Magadh*, p. 39.
44. *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 98.
45. *JNSI*, VII, p. 18.
46. *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 98.
47. *ibid.*, pp. 104-5.
48. *BMC*, *GD*, p. liii fn. 1.
49. *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, pp. 39-40.
50. S.R. Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 372.
51. *JNSI*, XL, pp. 111ff.
52. Sinha, B.P., *op. cit.*, p. 195.
53. *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 98, 104.
54. Vincent A. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-5, 356.
55. *Dynastic History of Magadha*, p. 8.
56. He writes, "These coins may belong to Chandragupta III Sri Vikramah or Budha Gupta Sri Vikramah" (*Dynastic History of Magadha*, p. 45).
57. *Gold Coins in Bharat Kala Bhawan*, p. 11.
58. *ibid.*, pp. 11, 23, 31, 82.
59. *ibid.*, p. 11.
60. *BMC*, *GD*, pp. 136, no. 556, 140 no. 570, *IMC*, I, p. 119, No. 2.
61. *GGC*, *BKB*, p. 82.
62. *BMC*, *GD*, p. iv, fn. 1.
63. *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 40.
64. *Dynastic History of Magadha*, pp. 14, 23.
65. S.R. Goyal, *op. cit.*, pp. 335-36.
66. B.P. Gupta, *op. cit.*, 856.
67. *BMC*, *GD*, pl. xix, 5.
68. *ibid.*, pp. 145-6.
69. *ibid.*, pl. xxiii, p, 11, 13.
70. *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, Appendices I a, b and c; *JNSI*, XX (II), p. 187.
71. *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, Appenpix, Ia.
72. *ibid.*, Ic.
73. *JNSI*, XX (II) p. 185, SN. 65.
74. His two coins are known and they weigh 139.5 and 143.0 grains (*BMC*, *GD*, p. 140, nos. 570 and 571).
75. B.P. Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

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DR. D.C. SIRCAR—A TRIBUTE

S.V. Sohoni

Dr. D. C. Sircar strode like a colossus across the field of ancient Indian History and culture, particularly since the publication of his very carefully compiled thesis on 'The Successors of the Satavahana in The Deccan', which has remained a standard work of reference to all students of the subject. He, later, proved himself to be an incomparable editor of the internationally famous journal, *Epigraphia Indica* (E.I.). His contributions to this journal were frequent and full—each, a testimony to his mastery over the relevant details of the individual topic dealt with by him and all the connected information.

I remember his visits to Patna, in search of new epigraphic materials, particularly, those during which he stayed with me. Even while not discussing problems of Indian epigraphy, numismatics and culture, his conversation was always full of humour and wit. He was fond of mentioning a joke about a Sanskrit Puṇḍit making use of the *Uṇādi* rule of Sanskrit grammar for rescuing a friend out of a difficulty, when the latter was called upon to find out of the common elements in the words, '*mia*' '*mulk*' and '*maulavi*'. In respect of technical subjects, his discussions were marked by more critical observations, and occasionally, even by impatience with the other man's ignorance. But all those around him were fully aware that he was genuinely kind-hearted and always keen to be helpful.

I was happy to put into his hands, from time to time, some epigraphical materials. He was always punctilious in mentioning through whose assistance they reached him while preparing his papers about them. The copper-plate grants made over to him by me, for being edited and published by him included: (1) two grants of kings of hitherto unknown dynasty which had ruled over Champaran district (published in E.I.); (2) a fragmented copper-plate grant of Jivitagupta found at Katra in Muzaffarpur district, which mentioned Cāmundī Viṣaya, referred to by Bāṇabhaṭṭa in *Harṣacaritam* (published in *E.I.*); (3) some stone inscriptions from Bhabua sub-division in Rohtas district (published in *E.I.*); (4) a unique, forged copper-plate grant of the Gahadwal period which had been denounced by Pratāpadhavala, the Khariar chieftain of Jāpila (modern Japla) in Palamau District (published in *E.I.*), and (5) an estampage of an important copper-plate grant of the Pāla period, found in Mirzapur district, U.P., was examined by him at my request.

Whenever possible, I tried to attend discussions in which Dr. D. C. Sircar was announced to be a participant. Thus, in a seminar at Nalandā, I had the benefit of discussing with him some points arising out of his article on Bhaskaravarman's Dubi copper-plate grant published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXX.

During some of my visits to Calcutta in the seventies, I used to call at his residence. Once I requested him to let me have sparable reprints of his published papers. He got up immediately, went to his study and brought out a big heap, which now forms an important part of my collection of such papers kept in Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, along with my personal library. Dr. Sircar used to send me copies of his published works. His *Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, and *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, are a source of parennial joy to me as standard works of reference.

The controversies between Dr. Sircar and Dr. Mirashi about some problems of ancient Indian history, were a source of instruction and enlightenment, but the fact that they had, occasionally, lingered on more than was apparently necessary, became a matter of surprise tinged with regret to most of us who had followed them closely. While it is true that '*vāde vāde jāyate tattvabodhah*', I had heartly wished that the elder among the two could have reduced the heat and the edge of his arguments. It was good to know both of them and to be able to appreciate their keen insight and the depth of their scholarship. For comparative novices like me, it is always good to remember *Bhartṛhari's* lines.

Yadā kinat kinat budhajanasakāśādavagatam |
Tadā mūrkhoasmi iti jvara iva mado me apagatah ||

It was always good to listen to Dr. Sircar and get one's doubts allayed by his sharp acumen and constructive criticism. One badly misses his robust presence. The void left by the passing away of such a savant is very palpable to those who stood in admiration around him—and I was one of them. He used to smile whenever I said to him that I felt like an Ekalavya in relation to a band of scholars like him, being conscious all the while that great disparity existed between their heights and my humble level.

I had sent him a reprint of my article 'From Kuśāvatī to Ayodhyā' published in *ABORI*, 1983, in which the location of Kuśāvatī in Mṛcchakaṭikam was discussed. A reply, as usual recorded tersely on a postcard, came to me stating that he was unwell adding that I had made out a point there in my article.

Just some days before Dr. Sircar passed away. I had intimated to him that I had solved the problem of locating Lokātikā Grāma where Viṣṇusena had sanctioned a *Vyavasthāthiti-patra* in favour of a Vaṇikgrāma and that I had collected some very useful information in this connection. Alas! Time did not intend that I should get his reply.

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PROFESSOR D.C. SIRCAR: MAN AND INDOLOGIST

S.K. Maity

Incarnation of vitality and energy, possessor of an unusual capacity for long and sustained action, forever pursuing the endless intellectual quest, full of an unsatiable avidity for new knowledge, a very productive and innovative person, was our teacher Prof. D. C. Sircar. Possessing, a razor-sharp analytical intellect, an almost unbelievable memory and unmeasurable expanse and variety of knowledge, he was always inspiring, guiding and helping. Our teacher was a rishi presenting us now and then a new thought, a new idea, a new interpretation of unrefutable logic and a new vision.

With the passing away of our beloved teacher on the morning of 10 January 1985 we are left with a void that cannot be filled. With his death the firmament of scholarship has lost for ever one of its brightest and most spectacular stars. We shall always miss him.

Prof. Sircar's life followed a pattern which was typical of his century and age. He was the son of Kusum Kumari Devi and Jajneswar Sarkar who was an Aurvedic physician and Sanskritist. He was born on 8 June 1907 at Krishnanagar, popularly known as Salkathi Krishnanagar in Faridpur (now in Bangladesh). He took his B. A. Honours in Sanṣkrit from Rajendra College, Faridpur in 1929. His Sanskrit teacher Satyakinkar Mukhopadhyạy advised him to take up Ancient Indian History and Culture with Epigraphy and Numismatics as special subjects in the University of Calcutta. In 1931 he passed his M. A. in first class securing first position and was awarded a gold medal. He took up research work under Professor D. R. Bhandarkar and got the Premchand Raychand scholarship for his thesis: 'The Successors of the Satavahanas in the Eastern Deccan'. He was awarded the Ph.D. Degree in 1936.

He joined the University of Calcutta in 1937 as a lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture and continued teaching there till 1948. He left for Ootacamund to join as Assistant Superindent of Epigraphy, Archaeological Survey of India on 17 January 1949. Later, he became the Epigraphist in the same department and held the position till 9 March 1958. In 1962 he came back to the University of Calcutta, as the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture and subsequently became its head and the Director of the Centre of Advanced Study in A.I.H.C. He retired from the University on 31 August 1974.

After his retirement he worked as Visiting Professor in the following universities.

1. Department of Oriental Studies and South Asian Regional Study, Pennsylvania University (U.S.A.).
2. Department of History, Bhagalpur University.
3. Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Allahabad University.
4. Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan.
5. The Oriental Faculty, University of Tashkent (Lenin University).

He was invited to participate in the following conferences, etc.

1. International Conference on South Asian History, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (July 1956).
2. International Conference on the History and Culture of the Kushanas, Dushanbe, Tadjikistan, U.S.S.R. (1968).
3. All-Bangladesh History Congress, Dacca (1973).
4. The South Asian Conference, Oshkosh Campus, University of Wisconsin (1974).
5. The Historical Atlas of South Asian Project, Minnesota University (1974).
6. Wisconsin University (1974).
7. The Department of Religions, Columbia University, New York (1974).
8. The International Congress on Bengal Art, Dacca Museum, Bangladesh (1976).
9. Conference of the German Orientalists in West Berlin (1980).

He had a lecture tour in the Universities of Berlin, Bonn, Marburg, Freiburg, Koeln and Heidelberg.

Prof. Sircar was elected Honorary Fellow of the Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi (1970), Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi (1974), Epigraphical Society of India, Mysore (1974), International Institute of Tamil Studies, Madurai (1981), Purātathva Saṁsad, Calcutta (1982), the School of Archaeological Survey of India (1982).

He also graced as the President in a good number of learned bodies such as

1. All-India Oriental Conference, Ujjain Session (1972).
2. Andhra Pradesh History Congress, Nagarjunanagar (Guntur Session) in 1980.
3. Indian History Congress, Bombay Session, (1980).
4. The Jayaswal Archaeological and Historical Society, Begusarai, Bihar (1954).
5. Numismatic Society of India, Calcutta Session (1955), and Agra Session (1956).
6. Epigraphical Society of India, Indore Session (1975).
7. The Asiatic Professor Sudhākar Chattopadhyay Memorial Lectures, Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan (1981).

He also delivered a series of lectures at

1. Magadh University (1968).
2. Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University (1969).
3. Mysore University (1969).
4. University of Bangalore (1969).
5. Centre of Advanced Studies in Ancient Indian History, Calcutta University (1970).
6. Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta (1971).
7. University Grants Commission's National Lectures, Saugar University, Sagar (1972).
8. Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi (1972).
9. Meerut University (1972).
10. Sheth B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad, New Delhi (1972).
11. Centre of Advanced Studies in Indology and Museology, Birla Museum, Bhopal (1974).
12. Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati (1978).
13. Allahabad University (1978).
14. Jadavpur University (1982).

The Asiatic Society, Calcutta honoured him with the award of Sir William Jones Memorial Gold Medal (1972). He was also awarded Akbar Silver Medal of the Numismatic Society of India (1973). For his astounding scholarship in Indology he was invited by many institutes to deliver Endowment Lectures, such as

1. Ragunath Prasad Nopany Lectures, Calcutta University (1962 and 1973).
2. Dr. Radha Kumud Mookherji Lectures, Lucknow University (1964).
3. Sir William Meyer Lectures in History, Madras University (1966).
4. Rai Bahadur Bissesswarlal Political Halwasiya Lectures, Calcutta University (1968).
5. Principal Sita Ram Kohli Lectures, Punjabi University, Patiala (1972 and 1973).
6. Atombapu Sharma Lectures, Atambapu Research Centre, Imphal (1973).
7. Rāmlāl Hāldār and Haripriyā Devi Lectures, Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parisad, Calcutta (1977).
8. Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarmā Lectures, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad (1978).
9. Dr. Moti Chandra Memorial Lecture, Annual Conference of the Museum Associations of India, held in Calcutta (1980).
10. Mrs. Lila Banerjee Memorial Lectures, Ramkrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta (1980).
11. K. P. J. Research Institute, Patna (1982).
12. Utkal University (1969).

He left more than forty scholarly works. Some of them are:

1. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Eastern Deccan*, Calcutta University, 1935.
2. *The Early Pallavas*, Motilal Banarsidas, Lahore, 1935.
3. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, Calcutta University, 1939.
4. *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Culture, Vol. I (From the Sixth Century* B.C. *to Sixth Century* A.D.), Calcutta University, 1942 and 1965.
5. *A Grammar of the Prakrit Language*, Calcutta University, 1942 and Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1970.
6. *The Sākta Pithas*, reprinted from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, Vol. XIV, 1948 and Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1979.
7. *The Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Publication Division, Government of India, New Delhi, 1957, 1967 and 1975.
8. *The Maski Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1958.
9. *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1960 and 1971.
10. *Indian Epigrahy*, Motilal Banarsidass. Delhi, 1965.
11. *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1966.
12. *Studies in Indian Coins*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1968.
13. *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India*, Motilal Banarsidass Delhi, 1971.
14. *Studies in the Political and Administrative Systems of Ancient and Medieval India*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1974.
15. *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. II, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1981.
16. *The Guhilàs of Kishindhā*, Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1965.
17. *Epigraphical Discoveries in East Pakistan*, Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1973.
18. *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, Indian Studies Past and Present, Calcutta, 1967.
19. *Studies in the Society and Administration of Ancient and Medieval India*, Vol. I, *Society*, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1967.
20. *Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition*, Munsiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1969.
21. *Landlordism and Tenancy in Ancient and Medieval India as Revealed by Epigraphic Records*, Lucknow University, 1969.
22. *Problems of Kusāṇas and Rajput History*, Calcutta, 1969.
23. *Problems concerning the Kusāṅas*, Karnatak University, 1971.
24. *Mahâmāyurī: List of Yaksas*, Calcutta, 1972.

25. *Iranians and Greeks in Ancient Punjab*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1973.
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Prof. Sircar had the good fortune of studying under a galaxy of learned teachers, such as, D. R. Bhandarkar, H.C. Raychaudhuri, A.C. Das, H.C. Chakladar, N.C. Banerjee, H.C. Ray, P.C. Bagchi, B.C. Sen and J.N. Banerjea. When he joined the Department, he had the opportunity of working with H.C. Raychaudhury, Stella Kramrish, J.N. Banerjea, B.C. Sen, N.R. Ray, S.K. Chatterjee, G.C. Raychauhury, D. Mukherjee, K.D. Nag and N.N. Das Gupta.

He was very successful in his teaching profession and his residence at P. 645, New Alipur House, Calcutta, was the meeting place of Indian and foreign orientalists and research scholars. He had a very big library of oriental books and journals, and this writer was a regular visitor there. From his own account in the *Pracyavidya-Taraṅgini*, mention may be made of his students, Jyotirmayi Basu (1938), Professor, Magadh Mahila College, Patna; Sadananda Kashinath Dikshit (1938), Department of Archaeology, Government of Madhya Pradesh; T. Vimalananda (1939), Professor, Colombo University; Sudhiranjan Das (1940), Calcutta University; Sisirkumar Mitra, Professor, Govt. Sanskrit College, Calcutta; Dilipkumar Biswas (1942), Professor, Govt. Sanskrit College, Calcutta; Pratapchandra Chandra (1942), Ex-Education Minister, Govt. of India; Amarendranath Lahiri (1948), Professor, Calcutta University; Purnendusekhar Naskar (1943) Bar-at-low; Rama Niyogi (1943), Professor, Bethnun College, Calcutta; Sudhamayi Sen Gupta (1943), Delhi University; Paresh Chandra Das Gupta (1946), Director of Archaeology, Govt. of West Bengal; Debala Mitra (1946), Director General, Archaeological Survery of India, New Delhi; Sunilchandra Ray (1946), Director, Indian Museum, Calcutta; Amalendusekhar Naskar (1948), Advocate; Puspa Niyogi, Calcutta University; Arabinda Bhattacharya (1949), Principal, Behala College, Calcutta; Debkumar Chakravorty (1949), Superintendent, Directorate of Archaeology, West Bengal; Sachindra Kumar Maity (1949), Jadavpur University; Amita Ray (1949), Calcutta University; Haribishnu Sarkar (1949), Archaeological Survey of India; Upendra Thakur, Magadh Univerisity, Gaya; Arabinda Ghosh, Indian Museum, Calcutta; Bratin Mukherjee, Calcutta University; Bela Lahiri, Jadavpur University; Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta, Calcutta University; Dipaka Das, Calcutta University; Samaresh Bandopadhyay, Calcutta University; and many others.

Among Prof. Sircar's appreciations from various scholars, reference may be made to the following. R.C. Majumder (1942) remarks, ". . .Knowledge of Epigraphy and Paleography. . .of a very high order. . . sound critical judgement and scholastic outlook. . .has occupied a front rank among Indian scholars." D.R. Bhandarkar (1947), his teacher, spoke highly of him. ". . .One of the best three intelligent pupils of mine. . .noted for scholarship and clarity of thought. . .diligence, intelligence and power of judgement." Another teacher H.C. Raychaudhuri (1942) spoke about ". . .unflagging industry, keen insight, sound judgement and loyal devotion to duty. . .wide reading, power of expression and crititical acumen. . . possesses qualities which, I do hope, will enable him to keep up the best traditions of Indian scholarship." In the opinion of another historian, R.K. Mookherji (1945), Prof Sircar was ". . .one of the first masters of Archaeology, an authority on Epigraphy and Numismatics and, with his unique knowledge of Sanskrit, possessed of a complete grip upon all the sources of Ancient Indian History, which is hardly excelled by any other scholar." R.G. Basak regarded Dineshchandra as "our greatest epigraphist". Similarly, another Indologist S.K. Chatterjee (1946) adds, ". . .one of the best men we have in the University of Calcutta". J.N. Sarkar (1946) remarks, ". . .an author of great constructive power. . .will be able to build up a school of research in his special branch of history." S.N. Sen (1943) spoke about his, ". . .industry, accuracy and intellectual integrity" and considered him "undoubtedly one of our ablest younger historian. Noted art historian, O.D. Ganguly writes, "The love and respect which I have received from my appreciative and affectionate friends at the University of Calcutta are the source of energy and inspiration in my life. The profound scholarship, amiability and sweet humour of Dr. Dineshchandra Sircar of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture moved me much and I am amazed at his depth of knowledge in ancient history and epigraphy. I constantly require the help of inscriptions in my pursuit of art history. In this respect, Dr. Sircar has helped me on several occassions unhesitatingly and with great sympathy. For this, there is no limit to my gratefulness to him."

Prof. Sircar was a very loving father. He had two sons and two daughters. His eldest son, Samiran Sircar is a mechanical engineer in U.S.A. and the younger one Sumit Sircar is an Associate Professor in the Texas University, U.S.A. His eldest daughter Srilekha Bell is a teacher at the New York University and younger daughter Mrs. Indrani Kapur also teaches in the National University of Australia. He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Madhurima Sircar who was constant source of his inspiration.

Prof. Sircar was an orientalist in the widest sense of the word, a passionate, if at times secretive, collector of things and information, a subtle connoisseur, a great innovator, an eloquent public lecturer in Indology, and a *guru* rather than a performing teacher. Thus, a burning light is gone and we all are poorer for its absence.

REMINISCENCES

Upendra Thakur

It is with a deep sense of gratitude and regard that I offer my humble homage to my celebrated teacher, the late Dr. D.C. Sircar who has left an inspiring and abiding impression upon his generations of students, colleagues, admires and learned public at large. As a scholar of Indology he had few equals both in its extent and significance. There is hardly any field of Indology which he did not touch and adorn. His outstanding contributions in various branches of Indology such as dynastic history, geography, polity, society, religion, law, economy, numismatics and epigraphy over a period of forty years have secured him a very high place in the top rank of Indologists. As regards Indian epigraphy he was probably its greatest architect. He discovered and edited hundreds of inscriptions from different parts of the country—a rare feat unmatched so far—and fathered the Epigraphical Branch of Archaeology at Ootacamund and edited its journal with rare zeal and devotion for several years. Whatever little knowledge I have of Epigraphy and Numismatics I got it from his teachings.

Extremely simple and unassuming in habits and always ready to help his students in the acquirement of knowledge and their promotion in life, Prof. D.C. Sircar is a name to conjure with in the history of Indology. A great teacher and a giant among scholars Prof. Sircar carried his scholarship lightly on his shoulders and combined deep learning with humility, all too rare. Beneath his rugged exterior he had the kindest of heart, which one could experience only when one came into close contact with him.

A great scholar, Prof. Sircar was greater as a man who was more than a teacher for his students. On many occasions when I faltered, he encouraged, inspired and guided me. He always gave his frank opinion without caring for favour or frowm of the person concerned. Though accommodating in spirit he was always firm in his views once he found them based on solid grounds. When approached for direction and guidance he gave proper advice in personal matters also.

Scholar, teacher, friend and philosopher and, above all, a gentleman *par excellence* Prof. Sircar will always live in the memory of his grateful students as well as the future generations of scholars as a monument of learning to inspire and guide their path.

In fact, he was a wonderful phenomenon on the scholarly horizon of this country, the like of whom we shall never see again.

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Dr. Upendra Thakur took his B.A. Honours in History, M.A. in Ancient Indian History and obtained D. Phil. from the Calcutta University. He began his career as a college teacher in 1956 and is now working as University Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian and Asian Studies, University of Magadh, Bodh Gaya (Bihar). In 1969 he visited Yugoslavia under Indo-Yugoslav Cultural Exchange Programme of the Government of India to deliver a series of lectures on different aspects of Indian history at the University of Zagreb and other Universities of the country. He also visited U.S.S.R., U.S.A., Egypt, Australia, Germany, Rome and other countries of Europe. He went to South-East Asia on a lecture-tour in 1972.

In November 1977, Dr. Thakur was awarded Silver Medal by the Numismatic Society of India for his outstanding contributions to numismatic studies and was elected President of Section IV ('Countries other than India') of the Indian History Congress for 1978. For some time he was the Chief Editor of the Journal of Numismatic Studies and the Journal of the Bihar Research Society (JBRS), Patna. He has published several monographs and more than sixty-five research papers.

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Sachindra Kumar Maity took his B.A. (Honours), M.A. in Ancient Indian History and Culture and M.A. in History from the University of Calcutta. He did his Ph.D. from London University under the able guidance of Prof. A. L. Basham. Since 1956 he has been teaching Ancient Indian and World History at the University of Jadavpur, and is Head of the Department of History of the same University.

Dr. Maity has a good number of research papers to his credit which have been published in many journals (in India and abroad). He is also the author of about a dozen books.

ISBM 81-7017-220-9